NEVVES FROM SPAYNE AND HOLLAND CONTEYNING.

An information of Inglish affayres in Spayne vvith a conferrence made theruppon in Amsterdame of Holland.

VVritten by a Gentleman trauelour borne in the lovv countryes, and brought vp from a child in Ingland, vnto a Gentleman his frend and Oste in London.

Anno, M. D. XCIII.

TO THE IN-DIFFERENT AND DISCRETE READER.

I RECEAVED great contentment, and thoughte my ſelf exceedingly gratified by an eſpetiall freind of myne, vvhen as (of late) it pleaſed him to cõmunicate vvith me the enſuing diſcours, concerning the eſtate, reſidence, & exerciſes of the Engliſh nation in Spaine, vvith other matter thereon depending, together vvith a familiar conference had at Amſterdam, vvhich alſo concerned Engliſh affaires. But beeing in vvritten hand, & only intended by one freind vnto an other, I vvas ſory that ſo notable matter

as is therein deliuered, could not ſo redely be imparted to many, & therefore I haue preſumed to put the ſame in print, the thing (in my opinion) right vvoorthely deſeruing theſame, & I vviſh that thy acceptance thereof may be anſvverable to my good meaning, vvhereby I may the ſooner be enduced for thy further ſatisfaction, to put foorth in print alſo the other diſcours, promiſed in the end of this, vvhereof I do very ſhortly expect to haue a copy, and thus I leaue the to God, & this treatiſe (in the meane tyme) to thy conſiderate regard.

TO THE

TO THE RIGHT WOORSHIPFVL M. N. MY GOOD OSTE AND DEARE FREND ABIDING IN GRACIOVS STREAT IN LONDON.

IF I haue byn ſomwhat longer then you expected (my good oſte and deare frende) in performance of my promiſe made vnto you at my departur from London, to returne you ſpedilie aduiſes from ſlaunders and Spaine, of the affaires ſo much deſired and recommended vnto me, no feare haue I in the world but that my pardō ſhal eaſily be obteyned at your hādes who know my good wil both to you and your country (which for diuers cauſes alſo I may wel cal myne) and more thē this, by your own experieuce you may eaſilie imagyn the letts & difficulties which trauelers and traffiquers are wout to finde in forrayne countries, for diſpaching their buſines with in the compaſſe of their own deſignments.

True it is, that after my departing from you (which was on Michelmas day (if I forget not) my paſſage was with good ſpeede to Holland, and thence alſo with no leſſe opportunitie to

Spaine, for that finding good occasion of imbarcation my haste, was the greater and so I ariued in Calliz of Andaluzia, by the end of Nouēber, from whence passing within two or three dayes to the porte of S. Maries (which is but one or twvo howers sayling by water as you know) I had fitt occasion to informe my selfe very particularlie of the first pointe whereof we had hard so much in Ingland, and I promised to write you the truth to witt of the publique reconciling of so many Inglish Soldiars to the Catholique Romaine faith, as were at that tyme detayned prisoners in the Gallies of Spayne, which gallies commonly for the winter tyme doe reside in this porte of S. Maries as fittest of all Spayne for that purpose to resist the incursion of the moores. And for that this was the first matter wherof you and I talked and disputed so much in Ingland vppon the vncertaine relations that Souldiers brought vs thither from Spayne, you suspecting the matter to be feigned and I thinking the contrary; I shal first assure you in this that the whole hapned as we were informed, to witt, that aboue nyntie Inglish, partlie capteines, and officers and partlie marchaunts and commō Souldiers, who had byn very resolute a long tyme in their religion, and had oftentymes affirmed to the Adelantado their general and other Captaynes and frendes which dealt with them in that behalf, that they would rather dye then relent therin, yet afterwardes vppon three or foure dayes cōference with an Inglish father

Nynty Inglismen reconciled in Spayne.

or two

or two of this side, they offered al most willingly to chainge their opinions and become catholiques, and that at such a tyme, when as they saw themselues out of al dainger if they would haue continued in the contrary, for that they had now this kings warrãt, both for their liues and liberties, and that the inquisition should in no wise touch them for their religiõ, which I doe ad to the end you may not thinke parchãce that they did it for feare, but rather of their owne free vvil and electiõ, professing themselues with teares and extended handes (as heer most crediblie it vvas tould me) that they vvere, all most fullie satisfied, persuaded & conuinced, & consequently desired with, earnest request to be recõciled to the Catholicke Romaine fayth and church; and so they were, euery one being first confessed of all his life past, and afterward al together in solemne procession vvere caried to the great church of the port, & there hard masse together, vvith extraordinary shew of contrition and repentance for the tyme past, & masse being ended, they al receaued the holy Sacrament of the aulter most deuoutly, & the Adelãtado with diuers other noble men kinghts and Captaines were communicated with them, for their comfort and deuotion: & that ended, the Adelantado (vvho is a most noble and honorable gentleman and affected excedingly to the Catholiques of your nation) had them all home to his owne house, & gaue them a ryall dinner himselfe serving them at the table, with *Don Iuan de Padilla* his eldest

A dinner made to the Inglish cõuerted.

his eldeſt ſonne, and heir, the marques of Montes Claros his nephew, *Don Iuan de Porto Carera* brother to the Earle of Palma his other nephew, *Don Iuan de Robles, Don Pedro de Acumnia*, & many other great men, vvho al did this honot to your nation that day, for ioy to ſee them ſo wilingly made Catholiques, and I aſſure you that this day is one of the moſt memorableſt that euer your nation hath had in theſe partes, and vvilbe remembred in the porte of S. Maries and places there about, for long tyme.

A conſideration vppon the former cõnexion.

By al which you may ſee, if you wil (my good Sir) that it is true vvhich ſo offen I haue vrged vnto you and others not greatly learned, who are ſo determinate in your opinions without knowing the groundes wheron you ſtãd, or at leaſt not thoſe vvherin others doe founde them ſelues, or vvhat truly may be ſaid vvithout heate of cõtentiõ, for the one or agaynſt the other, ſo if (I ſaie) you would be content but only to heare and examine the matter and confer with ſome learned of the other ſide vvith indifferent deſire to know the truth & to acknowledge it when in conſcience you ſhould diſcouer the ſame; it vveare an eaſie matter to come to that vnion ſo much deſired, as many haue dõne, which ſincerly and vvith chriſtian diſpoſition before mẽtioned haue bine content to treate of this affaire. but others as your ſelfe and ſome freinds of ours ther with you are vvont to apprehend ſo vehementlie euery new opinon that you fall on, as ther is no reaſon or argument, may be hard to

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the contrary & ſo no maruaile though you remaine ſtill with your owne perſwaſions. And ſo much by this occaſion againſt you good Sir, and novv to the courſe of my narration againe.

From the porte of S. Maries I vvent to Siuil agaynſt Chriſtmas and in the vvay I paſſed by S. Lucars vvher I founde the Ingliſh Church of S. George appartayning in tymes paſt vnto the Ingliſh marchantes (vvhich is an other poynte alſo vvherof you deſired to be informed) deliuered vp into the handes of Ingliſh Seminary prieſts, together vvith all the houſes, groundes, and other emoluments belonging therunto, and it ſeemeth that the place hath gotten much by this chainge, for that the ſame church (which I knevv ſome yeares ago while it was in your marchãts handes) much in decay, is now very vvel repaired and kept in good order, and fayre habitation is in buylding about it, vvhich they ſay ſhal ſerue, not only for the prieſtes to lye therin, but alſo for the marchantes of the Ingliſh nation, to make ther aſſembly vvhen occaſion is offred, and to theſe buvldings and reparations not only the Duke of Medina Sidonia Lord of the towne, and the Cardinal of Siuil metropolitan of the place, doe giue their fauours and aſſiſtãce for the recouery of all ſuch commodityes as euer belonged to that Church and houſe, but the King alſo himſelfe who beſides other fauours gaue them two thouſand Crownes in money tovvards the ſaid buylding this yeare paſt, and ſo it is like to be one of the fayreſt

The Ingliſh houſe and Church of S. George in S. Lucars.

fayreſt houſes and churches that is in the vvhole city of S. Lucars.

Reſidẽces of Ingliſh Prieſts in Libon & in the porte of S. Maries.

This houſe is to ſerue principally for a reſidence of Ingliſh Prieſts as I haue ſaid, and there is a Doctor of diuinity of your nation prouoſt therof at this preſent, and there end is as I am informed not only to keepe vp and ſerue that houſe and Church, but alſo to intertaine ſuch Ingliſh, as paſſe in and out to the Seminaries. For vvhich cauſe alſo the Duke of Medina Celi lord of the porte of S. Maries is about to erect au other reſidẽce like to this in that his tovvne; and an other ther is alredy erected in Liſbone, & an Ingliſh graue Prieſt. Superiour therof vvith great probability to haue a Seminary alſo and colledge of Ingliſh ſtudents in that city ſhortly; as al ready ther is one of Iriſhmen and an other of the ſame nation in Salamanca ſtirred vp therunto by the example of the Ingliſh.

The Ingliſh houſe and Seminary in Siuill.

But to paſſe forwards in my iourney I arriued about Chriſtmas at Siuil vvher I found a goodly Ingliſh Seminarie newly begone & brought to ſuch perfection as in two monethes only ther weare almoſt fiftie perſons in the ſame, and the ſaid Colledg is placed in the middeſt and beſt ſituation of all the towne, and ſo vvel ſetled and prouided for euery vvay as if they had byn ther many yeares: for that the good vvil and affection of the people toward them, is exceeding greate, and they ſeeme to be rauiſhed as it vvere vvith a kinde of admiration of them, to ſee ſo many Ingliſh tender youthes, al bred and borne in this

this Queenes reigne, and yet ſo forvvard and feruent in this their religion, as to offer themſelues to al kinde of difficulties, afflictions and perils for the ſame: for ſuch is the profeſſion cõmonly of al theſe youthes, and to confeſſe the truth it gaue me alſo incredible admiration to talke with them in that point, and ſurely it ſeemeth a ſpirit different from al other nations and men in thes dayes, and muſt needes procede of an higher influence then fleſh and blood or vvordlie pollecy or perſvvaſion, if I be not deceaued.

I vvas preſent at certanie feaſtes and excerciſes of learning vvhich theſe yong men made vppon certaine daies in this their new colledge before, *Don Rodrigo de Caſtro*, the Cardinal & Archbiſhop of that citie, vvho eſtemeth himſelf & his houſe (vvhich is very honorable and of the moſt auncienteſt Grandes of Spayne) to be diſcended of your old Dukes of Lãcaſter, as alſo before the vvhole vniuerſity and cleargie of Siuil, and before the Gouernour and noble men of the ſame, vvho flocked thither in ſo great numbers vppon the brute of Catholique Ingliſhmen, as it vvas of force to hold the ſaid excerciſes in the greater court of the ſaid colledge, but yet adorned very decẽtly for that purpoſe, & ſuerlie the excerciſes ſeemed to be done vvith general approbation or rather admiration of al men.

The one Dayes excerciſe vvere diſputations before and after dinner, vppon Concluſions drawne out of al diuinity, the learnedeſt men of

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al that city and vniuerſity repayring thither to diſpute vvith the Ingliſh prieſtes that defended the concluſions.

Excerciſes of lerning by the Ingliſh in Siuil.

An other day vvas the feaſt of S. Thomas of Canterbery celebrated vvith great ſolemnity & exceding much concourſe of al principal people of that city, the Cardinal and ſome other great perſonages vvere intertayned vvith orations and ſpeches in Latine, at their firſt entrance, vntil the maſſe began, the church and court therunto adioned, vvere addreſſed and hanged vvith greate ſtore of rich clothes, & thereppon much variety of poemes and learned inuentions in Latin, Greeke, Hebrue, Frēch, Spaniſh, Italian, & other languages vvherein theſe ſtudents ſeme to haue much vſe and ſkil, ſome in the one, and ſome in the other. The maſſe vvas ſonge with great ſolēnity, by one *Don Alonſo de Columna*, brother to the general of the Kings galleons. Two Sermonos vvere made bv two Ingliſh ſcollers, the one in Latine, towards the midle of maſſe, after the goſpel which indured about au houre, the other in ſpaniſh after the maſſe vvas done, which Was ſomvvhat ſhorter, but I can aſſure you that both the preachers acquitted thēſelues in ſuch order, as they gaue vvonderful contentement & drew many teares from the hearers, as I can be witnes, and I muſt nedes confeſſe, alſo that al beit I be not harde to perſuade my ſelfe vvel of Ingliſh men as you may geſſe yet eaſely ſhould I not haue beleued that your countrymē could ſo vvel haue framed themſelues, to giue ſatisfaction in

ction in other countryes if I had not ſeene and hard this my ſelfe, though alwaies I haue knowne Engliſh mens talents and abilityes to be great, vvherunto ſoeuer they liſt to apply themſelues.

Thus paſſed that day vvhich vvas the 29. of December and fift day of Chriſtmas, vvherin S. Thomas vvas ſlayn in his owne Church of cãterbury, as you know, King Henry the ſecõd being then in Normandy, but yet he vvas preſumed to be the cauſe and occaſion of this fact, though himſelfe denied his intentiõ thereunto al his life after. but the vniuerſal Church of Chriſtendome condemned him therin, and began preſently to celebrate this feaſt, euery yeare by publique authority, as of a martyr, and appoynted the goſpel for the maſſe of thys day, to be taken out of the 10. of S. Iohn, vvher Chriſt ſetteth downe the difference betwene the good ſhepheard & the bad, for that the bad ſhepheard and hireling runeth avvay vvhen he ſeeth the vvolfe comming to deuoure his ſheep, but the true ſhepheard ſtayeth & ſticketh to the defence of his ſheep, and offreth his life for the ſame if need be, as our Sauiour ſayeth in thes wordes. *Bonus Paſtor animam ſuam dat pro ouibus ſuis* the good Paſtor giueth his life for his ſheep.

S. Thomas of Cãterbury his feaſt in Siuil.

Theſe vvordes the firſt of the tvvo ſcollers that preached in Latin, tooke for his theame, & applyed them to the preſent feaſt of S. Thomas, vvhich he ſaid did appertaine to euery ſeueral ſort and degree of people there preſent, and that

for diuers

for diuers perticular reaſons vvhich he touched in his preface, vvhich preface for that it ſetteth foorth the great variety of honorable perſonages that vvere at his ſermon, I ſhall not omit to put it downe here vvord for vvord as it vvas vttred & that alſo in Latine, although you be no great Latiniſt, but I ſhal take payn alſo to put the ſame in Ingliſh. Thus then he began vvith as much commelynes, grace of ſpeach, and feruour of ſpirit, as euer I remembre to haue hard any man in my life before.

THE BEGINNING OF the Latine Sermon.

DIcturus hodie de præclariſſimo Eccleſiæ Catholicæ lumine diuo Thoma Cantuarienſi (Illuſtriſſime Cardinalis, clariſſimique auditores) illud ſæpe mecum ad ſolatium cogitare ſoleo, nihil me dicturum in hac tanta frequẽtia, quod ad omnes ferè non pertineat; cum nemo fortaſſe ſit ex vniuerſa hac nobiliſſimaque hominum corona, qui aliquid ſuum in glorioſiſſimo hoc Dei ſeruo nõ agnoſcat. Dicturus enim ſum de ciue apud ciues, de ſenatore apud ſenatores, de iudice apud iudices, de regni cancellario apud conciliorum præſides; de religiouis aſſertore, apud religionis vindices, de Paſtore vigilantiſſimo, apud animarum duces: de regularis vitæ profeſſore, apud regularis vitæ obſeruãtiſſimos: de Archiepiſcopo apud archipræſulem: de vniuerſi regni primate apud vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ purpuratum antiſtitem: de martyre denique, apud martyrij cupidos, ſi Dominus eos dignos inuenerit.

Itaque

Itaque cum omnium partes in præsenti celebritate repetiantur, quid ni omnium quoque votis, omniumque precibus ad communem omnium Dominum recurramus, vt dicentem me hodierno die, vel narrantem, vel petorantem vel supplicantem, vel lamentantem etiam, & comploratem, (si id vel temporum vel rerum Anglicanarum necessitas postulabit) diuina sua gratia comitari dignetur? & in primis beatissimam eius matrem (quam summa semper religione Archiepiscopus Thomas venerabatur) omni contentione imploremus, vt dexteram porrigat dicenti, & fluentem orationis meæ cursum ad filij sui gloriam plentissime dirigat.

In Inglish thus.

Hauing to speake this day (most excellent & renowmed Cardinall, and you the rest most honorable auditors) of that right famous and noble light of Christs catholique church S. Thomas of Canterbury one point am I well to remember for my comfort that I shall speak nothing this day in this noble audience which in some sorte pertayneth not to all that are present, seing there is scarse any man in my opinion in this most ample & honorable assembly which may not acknowledge some parte of his estate calling or condition, to be resembled in this most glorious seruant of our Sauiour.

For if you consider vvel, my speech must be of a citizen vnto cityzens, of a Senator vnto senators, of a iudge vnto iudges, of a head and Chancelor of a kingdome vnto the heades and presidents of honorable counsels, of a defendor

1. Citizens.
2. Coūcelours.
3. Iudges.
4. Presidentes of conceller.

5. Iquisitores.
6. Pastors & preachers.
7. monkes & fryers.
8. Archbishopes Cardinales.
9. Inglish schollers dedicated to martyrdom.

of religion, vnto them that by office do protect religion; of a vigilant pastor vnto those that are Captaines in guyding soules, of him that professed reguler life, vnto such as are most obseruant of regular austerity, of an archbishop to an archprelate, of the primate of an vniuersal kingdome, to a Cardinal of Christs vniuersal church, and finally of a martyr to them that are desirous of martyrdome, if god shal finde them worthy of so great a dignity, wherfore seing al that are present haue there parts in this holy celebrity; what remayneth but that with the prayers of al we make recourse to him, that is master and Lord of al, beseching his diuine maiestie to accompany me this day vvith his holy grace, while I in this sermon shal recount, declare, persuade, implore, cry out, complaine or weepe in your presence, according as the consideration of these tymes or the most afflicted state of our desolate country shal enforce me to do. And first of al, let vs begin with our humble recourse vnto his glorious mother the blessed virgin Marie, whom S. Thomas euer honored with special deuotion, desiring her vvith al instance to assist me in this action for the directing the course of this my spech, vnto the honor & glory of her sonne, our Sauiour.

This vvas the entrance vnto his sermon which he prosecuted after with such feruour of spirit, choise of good vvords and tender matter, as no man I thinke passed vvithout his part

his part of teares, as before I tould you, and ſuerly if it were not ouer louge I would ſend you the whole ſermon, as perhaps I may when it cometh forth in print, as I think it wil, for I haue hard diuers ſay they would procure it, but for me at this tyme it ſhalbe enough to haue repeted this beginning, and to adioyn therunto (for that it ſemeth to me very excellent and effectuous) the very laſt part and concluſion of al which he added in few wordes, about the martyrdom of ſainct Thomas, after he had vttred many notable thinges of his life, and eſpecially of his great auſterity in faſting, praying, vvearing of heare cloth, chaſtening of his body, and other ſuch afflictions of his fleſh, which this bleſſed ſeruant of god (by teſtimony of them that liued with him, and haue vvritten his life) did vſe, both at home and in his baniſhment. After al which this preacher brought in this cõcluſion, turning his ſpech to the reſt of his felloes the Ingliſh ſchollers there preſent.

THE CONCLVSION OF THE SERMON.

ATque hæc dicta ſint, vt hinc etiã intelligamus (fratres mei chariſſimi) quæ vita martyrium antecedere debeat; quantoque diſciplina ac ſanctitatis ſtudio,

hoc ſummum in terris bonum, à Domino ſit comparandum. Thomæ verò pro hac ſingulari vitæ præſtantia, non eſt mirum ſi ſingulare quoque genus martyrij conceſſum fuerit; de quo cum iam mihi ingrediendum eſſet, vt pro rei dignitate nonnulla dicerem; video me excluſum tempore, vt ne facti quidem narrandi locus detur. Sit igitur ſatis vno quaſi verbo ſummatim quæ ſequũtur perſtrinxiſſe: Henricum ſcilicet, ficta pace Thomam in Angliam poſt ſeptem annorum exilium reuocaſſe: quo cum veniſſet, & ſedi ſuæ reſtitutus fuiſſet, nouas calumnias ſtatim excogitatas, veteres inimicitias reſuſcitatas eſſe: Regi in Normandia degenti, verba quædam per iracundiam excidiſſe, quibus gratum ei putabatur fore, ſi vir Dei de medio tolleretur: aduolaſſe ſtatim in Angliam aulicos quoſdam è regia familia, qui his ipſis feſtis natalitijs ſaluatoris, Cantuariam tuentes, virum Dei, nec fugientem, nec repugnantem, nec ſe defendentem cum poſſet, nec fores claudi ſinentem, ſed orantem & ante altare in genua procumbentem, gladijs nefandis (proh facinus) transuerberaſſe. Teſtis eſt qui adfuit, qui vidit, qui hiſtoriam ſcripſit, qui martyrem Chriſti vlnis amplexus, brachium in certamine amiſit, amputatum ab homicidis: teſtis (inquam eſt) Thomam in martyrio ne gemitum quidem edidiſſe, nec in quatuor gladiorum ictibus qui capiti eius inferebantur, vnquam manus aut brachia ſuſtuliſſe, (quod homines naturæ ductu & conſuetudine facere ſolent) vt caput tuerctur, ſed hæc tantum verba aliquoties ingeminaſſe: Pro Chriſto Domino & eccleſia libenter morior. O virum admirabilem, ô vocem diuinam: videte (fratres mei) ducem præſtantiſſimũ viæ vitæque noſtræ, videte magiſtrum intuemini præcurſorem. Pro Chriſto Domino (inquit) & Eccleſia

libenter

libenter morior. *quæ vox fortior? quæ sanctior? quæ præsule Christiano dignior? quæ vox Deo ad gloriam, Angelis ad lætitiam, inimicis ad confusionem, dæmonibus ad terrorem, nobis ad imitationem, omnibus ad exemplũ, ipsi martyri ad triumphum cogitari potuit illustrior?* libenter (*inquit*) morior: *& quidni libenter Thoma, cum mors pro Christo sumpta, non sit mors, sed initium potius vitæ, arrha regni, sigillum gloriæ, porta æternitatis, & beatitudinis complementum? ô sanguinem benè impensum qui pro Christo impenditur. quidni excitemur (fratres mei) quid ni animemur hoc exemplo? vidimus labores huius martyris, breues illos quidem: sed gloriam sempiternam, & gloriam quidem, quæ vera gloria est, qua ille iam plus quam quadringentis annis in cælis fruitur, nondum vidimus. has vmbras gloriæ, quæ in terris habentur, vidimus Thomæ mirabiliter multiplicatas, gloriã nimirũ miraculorũ, gloriã sepulchri, gloriã deuotionis, & concursus omnium gentiũ: sed inter cætera omnia, nihil ei tam glorioſum in hoc mundo accidit, quàm quod persecutorem suum Henricum, virtute cælesti ad tantam pœnitentiæ humilitatem adegerit, vt nudis pedibus gemibundus ad sepulchrum eius venerit & infinitis effusis lachrymis, gemitus, suspiria, & lamenta ediderit; humi etiã prostratus, veniam petierit a sancto Martyre, & pœnitentiam ab episcopo pro delicto: denique post integram noctẽ vigilijs, & verberibus trãsactam, humo nuda residens, omnes ad sui commiserationem, tanto spectaculo commouit. Quæ maior gloria? Quæ martyris vis diuinior?*

O Domine Iesu, vita virtusque martyrum, vtinam placitum esset in oculis tuis, hanc gratiam persecutoribus quoque nostris Anglicanis facere, vt ad te conuertantur, & quod Henrico concessisti vnius Thomæ martyris exo-

ratus precibus, id Henrici filiæ concedas, plusquam centum testium tuorum ab illa occisorum placatus interceßione. O quàm lati ageremus tibi gratias de hoc beneficio? quam sollicite laudes tuas vbique decantaremus? verum si iustitiæ tuæ seueritas hoc forte non permittat, humiliter tamen te obsecramus, vt vires saltem nobis tribuas ad præliandum prælia tua in hoc agone quem nobis proposuisti, ita vt neque vitæ cupiditas à certamine, neque metus à periculis, ueque ignauia à labore nos vnquam retardet: sed omnia impendentes in tuam gloriam, patriæque salutem, superimpendamus etiam nosmetipsos si opus fuerit, vt sic aliquo modo respondeamus vocationi nostræ & infinitis beneficijs à te acceptis: de quibus gloria tibi & gratulatio & gratiarum actio in æternum.

Thus was his ending, which in your language may thus I thinke in parte be expreſſed though not perhaps al thing ſo effectually as in the latine it runeth.

A good life is needfull before martyrdō.

Theſe things of S. Thomas his great auſteriti in life, I haue recoũted (deare brethern & countrimen) to the end that therby alſo we may vnderſtand partly, what manner of life, ought to goe before martyrdome, and with how great indenour of diſcipline and holynes, this ſupreme benifit and priuilege to be a martyre is to be procured at Gods handes here vppon earth: and for that S. Thomas did excell in this kynde of holynes, (as now I haue declared) no maruail if according to the excellency of life, ſo excellent a kind of death vvas graunted him

alſo of

alſo. Of which ſacred death and martyrdom, wheras now I would begin to ſay ſomwhat, I ſee my ſelfe ſo ſtrayghtned in tyme, as there is not ſpace to recount the very fact, wherfore let it be ſufficient to touch the reſt that followeth in one worde, to witt that king Henry after al theſe troobles, made feigned peace with the good Archbiſhop, and reſtored him to his country and Sea of Caunterbury agayne, after he had bine ſeuen yeares abroad in baniſhment; vvhere he was no ſooner aryved, but preſently nevv quarels and calumniations vvere deuiſed and rayſed agaynſt him agayne; and thervppon the king being then in Normandy incenſed with coller, ſpake in his rage, certaine doubtfull woords, vvherby it vvas conceaued that it ſhould be gratful vnto him, if the archbiſhop by violence vvere made away: by which conceat, certayn wicked courtiors of his owne family, departing from thence and ruſhing into Canterbury, euen in this feſtiual dayes of holy Chriſtmas good hearers, ſet vppon this ſeruant of god, who nether fled nor reſiſted, nor defended himſelfe as he might, nor ſuffred the dores of the Church to be ſhutt: but praying and caſting himſelfe before the high alter, on his knees, ſuffred himſelfe moſt innocently to be ſlaine by wicked taytifes. Witnes wherof, is he among others, that vvas preſent when the act vvas done, he that ſavv it vvith owne eyes, he that vvrote the ſtory, he that held the bleſſed martyr in his

The manner of S. Thomas martyrdom.

armes, vvhile he vvas ſlayne, and had his ovvne arme cutt of by the murtherers for his labour.

This man I ſaie is witneſſe vnder his owne hand vvriting, how that S. Thomas in al his martydome, neuer gaue out ſo much as one grone or ſigh, nor in fower blovves ſtryken at his head, wherby his braynes were beaten on the pauement, he neuer ſo much as lifted vp his handes or armes to defend his head (as men by natural inſtinct in ſuch caſes are wont to doe) but only repeated once or tvviſe theſe wordes, *I dye moſt Willingly for Chriſt and for his Church.* O admirable man, o heauenly ſpeach, behold heere (my louing brethren of this colledg) behold here a moſt excellent Captaine of this our life and courſe that we are to follow: behold our maſter, behold our forerrunner, what ſpech more valiant, what voice more holy? what wordes more vvorthy of a Chriſtian prelat? what ſentence more excellent can be imagined, eyther to the glory of god, or to the ioy of angels, or to the terror of diuels, or to the confuſion of his enymies, or for our imitation, or for the example of al poſterity, or for the edification of the vniuerſal world, or for the endles triumph of this martyr himſelfe.

I die moſte Willingly (ſayeth he) *for Chriſt and his Church* o holy martyr, o bleſſed Thomas, thow haſt great reaſon to die willingly in ſuch a cauſe, for that death ſuffred for Chriſt thy maſter, is no death at al, but rather a beginning of a lõger life, an

life, an earneſt peny of an euerlaſting kingdom, a ſeale of glory, a gate of eternity, & the very complement of al felicity. O blood vvel ſpent that is ſpent for Chriſt, why ſhould not vve ſtir vp our ſelues (deare bretheren) why ſhould not we be animated and inflamed vvith this example? vve haue ſeene the labores and toyles of this martyr, though great, yet ſhort and ſone ended, but his glory is euerlaſting. And yet the true glory which he hath enioyed novv aboue foure hundreth yeares in heauen, which only indeede is to be called glory, vve haue not yet ſeene. Theſe ſhadovves only of glory, vvhich on earth are to be ſeene, we haue beheld moſt wonderfuly multiplied vnto S. Thomas: I meane (good hearers) the glory vppon earth of his infinite miracles, the glory of his Sepulcre, throughout al Chriſtendom, the glory of the vniuerſal concourſe and deuotion of al nations vnto him. but among al other glories and glorious accidents happned vnto him, no one thing was euer more glorious or admirable, then that ſoone after his death, by vertue from heauen, he procured to King Henry his perſecutor ſuch grace and humility of repentance, as that he came barefooted vvith many ſighes and ſobbes vnto his tombe, and ther proſtrating himſelfe vppon the ground vvith fluds of teares, aſked pardō of the bleſſed martyr and penance of the Biſhop for his offences, and ſo after a vvhole night ſpent in vvatching prayer and bearing of him ſelfe, and lying vppon the bare ground he departed, leauing al the lokers

on moſt deeply moued with his harty repentance, what greater glory, what more heauenly force of a Chriſtian martyr then this?

O Lord Ieſu, vvhich arte the life and vertue of al martyrs would it might pleaſe thy diuine maieſtie and infinite mercy to giue this grace alſo to our Ingliſh perſecutors, vvherby they vvould repent and turne vnto thee: and that vvhich thow dideſt graunt vnto king Henry by the only prayer of thy martyr ſainct Thomas, that his ſinnes might be forgiuen, thow wouldeſt graunt the ſame vnto king Henryes daughter at the interceſſion of aboue an hundreth of thy glorious martyrs whom ſhe hath ſlayne, that ſhe might not periſh: O how ioyful ſhould we render thankes vnto thee, for this ſo ſinguler and deſired a benefite! oh how cheatefull ſhould we ſinge euery where thy prayſes for the ſame, But if perhaps the ſeuerity of thy iuſtice, do not permitt this, yet moſt humbly we do beſech thee, to giue vnto vs thy vnworthy children, here preſent, ſo much ſtrenght and heuenly fortitude, as to fight manfully and hold out chearfully in this combat which thow haſt prepared for vs, ſo as neyther deſire of life, may ſtay vs from this batail, nor feare of death from perill, nor ſlouth from labour in this thy cauſe, but that we beſtowing our ſelues wholy vnto thy glory and to the ſaluation of our owne ſelues, and of our country, we may giue our ſoules vp alſo, and pay our blood in this holyvvork, if need require, and

quire, and therby in ſome ſort be anſwerable vnto our vocation, and to the infinite benifits which of thee we haue receaued, for vvhich both praiſe glory gratulation and thankes giuing be vnto thee for al eternity. Amen.

This was the end of his ſpeach, & by this you may imagine of what tenor the reſidue vvas. The other ſermon made after maſſe in Spaniſh I vvil not repeat, for breuity ſake, and for that by this you may eaſely geſſe the effect therof for it vvas to giue the people a reaſon of ſo many Ingliſh mens comming forth of Ingland in theſe dayes, what were the true cauſes and neceſſities therof, what ther vſage was at home, what their end abroade, and what particuler purpoſe and profeſſion theſe youthes that cam for ſtudy ſake to Siuil had before their eyes: In al which as there were many things of edification, compaſſion and tendernes in the behalfe of theſe youthes, ſo were ther alſo diuers poyntes (though vttered truly with great modeſtie) which pinched to the quick, and to heare them could not but giue me exceding grief for the many cauſes I haue to houour and loue your Country as you know. and truly I imagine that if the Queene or ſome of her counſayl had bine preſent, it would haue moued them much, and that perhaps to a far other ſenſe & meaning thé you conceaue, but now things grow to further breach and exaſperation euery day, and god only knoweth what wilbe the ende of al.

The effect of the ſecond ſermon in Spaniſh.

I had almoſt forgotten to tel you of a certaine

fayre

Poemes and deuises of learning.

fayre paper ſet vp this day in the Engliſh Colledge emongſt other poemes, and lerned deuiſes of the ſchollers, which paper did repreſent the antitheſis or contrary procedinges of tvvo King Henries of England, to witt, king Henry the ſecond before mentioned, vvho perſecuted S. Thomas of Canterbury in his life, but after repented as hath bin ſhewed, and king Henry the eight vvho fower hundred yeares after his death cited and condemned him and deſtroyed his ſepulcre which the other had built vp and many kinges after him richly adorned: The deuiſe was witty and the paper pleaſant to behold, being large and fayrely paynted to the eye, and it drew many to looke vppon it, and to take out coppyes therof and by this tyme I thinck it to be engraued and printed, and therfore in this place I wil repeate the ſame vnto you briefly as it ſtoode.

THE REPRESENTATION *of the tvvo perſecutions by the tvvo King Henryes of England agaynſt S. Thomas of Canterbury.*

IN the topp of the paper vvas vvritten this title *Triumphus Sancti Thomæ Cantuarienſis de duobus Henricis Angliæ regibus*, which is, the triumph of S. Thomas of cãterbury ouer tvvo king Henryes of England.

The firſt ſtanke.

Vnder the title are placed the tvvo king Henryes

Henryes to witt, king Henry the ſecond on the right hand armed and angry and ſtriking at S. Thomas that was paynted before him, flying away and fallyng downe on his knees, and ouer the kings head is written *Henricus Secundus Angliæ Rex*, and betwene him and S. Thomas was written, *Perſequitur viuum & fugientem*, he purſueth him in his life flying from him: On the left ſide is paynted king Henry the eight very fatt and furious and S. Thomas lying before him vvith the enſignes of glory, and ouer the king is written, *Henricus octauus Angliæ Rex*, and betwene them is written, *Perſequitur mortuum & regnantem*. He purſueth him dead and rayning in heauen, and this is the firſt ranck, conteyning fovver pictures as you ſee the tvvo kings and S. Thomas tvviſe put in the middle, once aliue and then deade & glorious.

In the ſecond ranck are ſet the afore ſaid two kinges agayne and in the middle the tombe and ſepulcre of S. Thomas as it was in Caunterbury, very rich & ſumptuous, but the kings, are paynted in different manner, for king Henry the ſecond is paynted leane and repentant, barefooted kneeling on his knees, and whipping himſelfe ſeuerly before the ſaid ſepulcre, as in truth the matter paſſed, and it is written betwene the ſepulcre and him. *Ad ſepulcrum martyris pœnitentiam agit*, he did penance at the martyres tombe; but on thother ſide king Henry the eight is paynted more fatt and monſtrous then before ſweating and chaffing and in great fury digging downe the ſepulcre

The ſecõd ranck

the ſepulcre with a pickaxe and the writing is: *Sepulcrum martyris demolitur, & cineres diſſipat*: he breaketh downe the martyrs tombe and caſteth abroad his aſhes into the ayer.

The third ranck. In the third ranke are paynted vnder king Henry the ſecond, many angels with garlands & crownes in their handes expecting him to glory and ſaluation, for his penance and harty amendment, and ouer ther heades is written: *Inuitat ad gloriam*, they doe inuite him to glory, and vnder king heury the eigh are paynted as many diuels with inſtruments of torments in their handes, and ouer their heades is written. *Expectant ad penam*, they expect him to puniſhment & betwene both, theſe in the midle is paynted Queene Elizabeth beholding ſadly the one and the other example, & ouer her head is written *Elizabetha Henricorum filia*, for that ſhe is diſcended of both theſe Henryes, and the ſentẽce written beneth is *E duobus elige*, chooſe which you wil of thes two.

The 4. ranck. In the fourth, rãck are placed two Ingliſh ſtudents in their Colledg garments, one on the one ſide of the paper and the other on the other, holding vp the ſaid paper, and offring each of them ſix verſes in Latin to Queene Elizabeth for explication of their meaning in this repreſentation, and ouer the verſes is written this title.

AD ELI-

AD ELIZABETHAM

Angliæ Reginam Alumni Collegij Anglicani Hiſpalenſis:

The firſt Scholler ſayeth thus.

REgibus Henricis atauis proauiſque Britannis
Edita, & hoc ipſo nomine, nata patre:
Cerne quid acciderit, bellum eſt vtriſque nefandum
Cum Thoma, at diſpar finis vtrique fuit.
Hic gemitu vitam tulit, iſte furore gehennam,
Quid ſperes, timeas, quidque ſequaris habes.

The ſecond Scholler in effect vttereth the ſame ſence but in other words as followeth.

Concipit Henricus ſcelus impium atroxque ſecundus,
At ſcelus octauus aggrauat octagies.
In Chriſti famulum fremit is, furit alter, at iſte
Tetrius, hoc vitæ finis vtrique probat.
O vtinam iuſto perpendas pondere vtrumque:
Et ſpectes atauum, non imitere patrem.

It ſhal not neede that I expounde thes verſes nto you, & much leſſe that I put them into Inliſh poeſie ſeing my ſkill and vſe therin is not reat: the ſomme is that they doe propone vnto er maieſtie, the acts and endes of both thes ings hir progenitors, wiſhing her rather to ollow the example of king Henry the ſecond, hat repented his ſinnes, then king Henry the ght that died in the ſame.

I doe not remeber any other thing that I haue, write vnto you about this colledg in Syuil

except

except I ſhould tel you how theſe ſchollers ſeme to ſhroude themſelues very peculiarly vnder the protectiō of our bleſſed ladye the Queene of heauen, agaynſt the perſecution of your Queene of Ingland. For to this ende it ſemeth there cuſtome is to meete at the church, euery day after dynner to ſay our ladyes letanies, beſides the common letanies of the church which they vſe to ſay after ſupper; and to the like ende it ſemeth the puting vp of our ladies picture ſerueth ouer there gate at the very entrance of their firſt courte, where two ſcollers are paynted kneeling before her with theſe fowre verſes betwene them for explication of theſe wordes written aboue.

ANGLIA DOS MARIÆ.

INgland is the Dowry of our ladye: the reaſon of which woordes theſe ſchollers doe yeeld in theſe verſes ſaying.

Prima dedit ſceptrum conuerſa Britannia nato
Virginis; hinc dicta eſt Anglia, dos Mariæ.
Ergo tuam repetas mater ſanctiſſima dotem,
Quique tuo repetunt iure, tuere pia.

The ſence of which verſes is, that for ſo much as Britanie now called Inglande, was the firſt kingdome that wholy togeather gaue it ſelf and ſubmitted her kingly-ſcepter vnto Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne and ſpouſe of our lady; therfore by a certayne deuout kinde of ſpeach, our Engliſh authors did ſay Ingland to be the Dowry of our lady, which being ſo, theſe ſcollers in conſideration that her and al other ſaints

hono

honor, is excluded from thence they do beſech hir to recouer agayne this her auncient dowrye, and ſo aſſiſt them that goe in her ſonnes name and hers to negotiat the matter, by preaching and teaching and offring their blood for regayning the ſame. Further doth ther not come to my remembrance, any other newes at this tyme to writ you out of thes pattes, of Spayne, except I ſhould tel you of the ſundry bookes that I haue ſeene here printed of late, in diuers countries againſt the laſt proclamation publiſhed in Ingland, vppon the 29. of Nouember the yeare paſt of 91. agaynſt Catholiques and for their ſearching out and apprehenſion, which proclamation is ſet abroade in many languages and many bookes written agaynſt the ſame, printed as I haue ſaid in dyuers nations, which doe make both the thing and manner of proceeding of your cõmon wealth in this behalfe, very odious. Three bookes in Latine haue I ſeene, beſides ſundry in Engliſh which I name not, the firſt was ſet forth by one Ioãnes Pernius in Germany, and dedicated vnto your Lord Treaſorer whom he ſcowreth in particuler, and by a larg and ſharpe diſcours refuteth the ſaide proclamatiõ, & ſetteth downe the inconueniences of this your proceeding.

Diuers bookes vvritten againſt the laſt Engliſh proclamation.

Ioannes Preuius.

The ſecond author that I haue ſeene is of Rome and calleth himſelfe Philopatrus wherby it may perhapps be preſumed that he would ſignifie himſelfe to be alouer of his country and he ſetteth downe the whole proclamation at

Andreas Philopatrus.

large word for word, in fiue partes or ſections, & aunſwereth to euery particuler thinge ſpoken in the ſame, as namely touching the pope, the kinges of Spaine, & fraunce, the Seminaries, and Inglish ſeminarie prieſtes both abrode and at home, & the like, ſhewing al my L Treſorers accuſations and aſſeuerations, touching thes poynts to be euidently falſe and founded commonly in playne lying, and this not only in matters of religion, but alſo in al other publique affayres and negotiations, which is a ſore blemiſh to ſo publique a perſon for the which I can aſſure you this man giueth him many wayes ſuch rough hewing and vttereth ſo many particulers of the preſent ſtate of Ingland, and vſeth ſo often your owne lawes ſtories, and cronicles to proue it, as it maketh all ſortes of ſtraungers wonderfully deſirous to reade it.

The third author which I haue ſeene wrotte in ſlaunders as it ſemeth, and is named *Dydimus Veridicus* as a man would ſay Thomas tell truth, vvho being a ſubiect of this kinge as he pretendeth, and both witty and eloquent and taking vppon him principally to defend the king his maſters procedings towards Ingland, and to refute the particuler accuſations, layed agaynſt him in the proclamation, he waxeth very ſharpe many tymes not only agaynſt my lord Treaſorer as philopater doth, but alſo agaynſt the whole ſtate vvhich greaueth me to reade.

Dydimus veridicus.

As for example, at the begining in the 9. page of his booke, for that my Lord Burley ſemed to bragg

bragg in his proclamation of the moſt quiet ſtate and gouerment of your common vvealth for 33. yeares togeather, while other common wealthes rounde about you haue lyued in broyles; this man taketh in hand, not only to proue that all thes broyles haue bin procured by Ingland, but alſo that Ingland it ſelfe is far of from al condition and nature of a true quiet common vvealth and thus he begineth.

The peace and tranquility of a kingdome or common wealth, is not troobled only by armes and open vvar of the publique enemie abroad or at home, but principally and moſt daungerouſly of al other, by the diſorder and diſagrement at home of her parts and members among themſelues, and by the violent proceeding of ſuch as manage the ſame, vvhich three examples that enſew ſhal declare. The vvordes of Dydimus.

1. That houſe cannot in very truth be ſaid to be in peace (though yet neyther vvith their ovvne people within, nor vvith their, neyboures without they be not at buffets) vvhere the maſter liueth in ſuſpition of his ſeruants the officers doe beat and vex the houſhould, vvher ſome runne avvay, ſome hide themſelues, ſome cry out, ſome ſcould, other complayne, vvher al is ful of contention, and diſputes, noe obedience but only for feare, no reſpect but only perforce, vvher honeſt men doe ſtarue for hunger, innocent men are afflicted, quiet men vvhipped, ſeditious & troobleſome heades doe commaunde and exact by tetror there moſt iniuſt and violent

2. commandements. Secondly that Shipp cannot
„ be sayd to hold a good peaceable course though
„ the sea be calme and vvinde in the deck, vvhere
„ the master from the mariners, and shipmen
„ from the passingers do disagree, are reuiled, be-
„ ten and spoyled the one by the other, ther mar-
„ chandize taken, away themselues eyther oppre-
„ sed or flong into the sea, the cables, sayles, an-
„ kers and other tackling broken, or putt into cō-
„ fusion, the ship defiled with blood, and loden
„ vvith dead carcases, and nothing founding
„ within, but sighes, and sorrowe and desolation
3. of such as miserably liue vvounded in her. And
last of al, that cytie cannot be sayd to be in
peace or in any security, (though it be infested
yet vvith no enemye from a broad) vvhose go-
uernours do giue, themselues vvholy to terror
and crueltie, do multiply prisons, fetters, gar-
des and spies, do make new penal lawes & abo-
lish the olde and do inuent new taxes and im-
positions euery day, do seeke all occasions to
pole ther people at home, & inforce them forth
to be theeues abroad, do kepe fayth with none,
do cast in prison, banish, spoyle, and consume
the better sort, pull downe the nobility, oppres-
se the cleargy & finally do put al there hope in
the feare of the people and none in ther good
wil, thus sayeth *Didimus* agaynst that first poynt
of your L. Tresorers proclamation.

And after he hath persued many particulari-
tyes of the afflicted and dangerous present state
of Ingland, by reason of the diuision in religion,

diſuinon

diſuainon and hatred betwene proteſtants, Catholiques, and puritans, complaints and diſcontentments on euery ſide, incertainty of ſucceſſion vnto the crowne, pouerty of the people for lack of trafique, breaking of marchants for the ſame cauſe, burden of vnneceſſary and vnprofitable warres, dayly multiplying of intolerable tributes, peſtering the realme with innumerable renegat and rebellious ſtraingers, liberty of theeues by ſo long permiſſion of piracy, vniuſt vvarres, diffidence & diſtruſt in the one towards the other, and open domeſtical diſſention in euery towne pariſh and particuler houſe ouer all the land, for one cauſe or other, After al this I ſay he paſſeth on to compare the eſtate of Ingland with other kingdomes & common vvealthes abroade ſhewing the great hatred & obloquie which your country is in for ſtyrring vvarres and rebellions on euery ſide, but for no one thing more, thē for ſo opē dealing with the Turke the publique enemye of al chriſtian profeſſiō, inuitinge & ſtyrring him to turne his forces vppon Chriſtendome therby to hurt the king of Spayne, which this mā auoucheth to be euidēt, not only by the oftē embaſſages letters & preſets ſent vnto this profeſſed enemye of Chriſts name, from Inglād thes later yeares: but alſo by a playne letter written by the Turk himſelfe about three or fowers yeares agone, to the Queene about this matter ſoone after the defeat of the ſpaniſh Armada, which letter being intercepted in Germany & printed ther both in the Latin &

Dealing of Englād vvith the Turck.

germane tonges, was afterwards publiſhed agayne, and inſerted into an Hiſtory of our tymes, ſet forth by on Ionſon Doccom of friſelande, and now agayne laid abroad, by this Didimus and the letter is vvord for vvord as followeth, for that I ſuppoſe you vvilbe deſirous to ſee it, thus then goeth the title.

The title of the Turkes lettre.

HONORATÆ A DOmino legis chriſtianæ matronæ, culmini caſtitatis, inter caſtiſsimas fæminas populorum, qui ſeruiunt Ieſu, &c.

In Ingliſh thus.

TO the honorable matron, honored by the lord of Chriſtian lavv: to her that is the hight and topp of chaſtity among the moſt chaſt women of al people that ſerue Ieſus: to her that is adorned with the glory of domination & gouernment, ladie of many kingdomes, reputed of greateſt, power & prayſe among the nation of Nazarens, to witt, Elizabeth Queene of Inglād to whom we wiſh a moſt happy and proſperous ende.

You ſhal vnderſtand by thes our high and emperiall letttes, directed vnto you, that your embaſſador reſiding in this our high and noble court, did preſent vnto the throne of our greatnes, a certayne writing of yours which informed

formed vs, how that for thes foure yeares past you haue made warr vppon the king of Spaine, thereby to breake and diminish his forces, by which he is become dreadful vnto the rest of Christian Princes, & hath determyned to make himselfe lord ouer al, & monarch of the whole world besides: more ouer the said letter doth shew how that the selfe same king of Spayne, hath by violēce taken away the kingdō of Portugall from *Don Antonio* the lawful king therof, lawfully created: moreouer that your intention is to lett hereafter the nauigation of this king vnto the Indians, wherby he is wont to bring home euery yeare into spayne great store of gold and siluer, spices and precious stones, worth many millions, by which he is become so rich, as he hath commodity to molest and indanger al other Princes and if he should be let a lone he would grow to be so powerable that at leught it would be hard to resist him.

Informations geuen to the Turck agaynst the k of Spayne.

Vppon which considerations your said Embassador, did make humble supplication vnto our greatnes, that we should vouchsafe in the beginning of this next spring to send our imperial nauy vppon the said King, assuring vs that he would not be able to resist the same, for the great ouerthrow and damage which he hath receaued by your nauy of late: and seing he is scarse able to resist your forces alone, no doubt but that he would be ouercome if of many sides he be inuaded at one tyme which would be greatly (as you say) to the commodity of al

The petition of the Inglish Ambassador VVilliam Harborn.

Christiã Princes, as also of this our high courte, to which it appartayneth to take the protectiõ of such as fly vnto the same for succour (as *Don Antonio* doth, being driuen out of his kingdome by the said kinge of Spaine) and therfore, that we should giue him help & succour, according to the custome of our noble auncetours & predecessors of happy memory, (whose sepulcres God almightie lighten) who were wõt alwayes to giue royal assistance to such as were oppressed and came for ayde to their imperial highneses.

The Turkes answere.

These thinges and many other did your said embassador declare at large before our roiall throne, al vvhich vve haue vnderstood and layd vp dilligently in our myndes, and for the present our answere is, that vvher as we haue had vvarr now many yeares in Persia with intention to gayne that kingdom, and to ioyne it, to the rest of our auncient Dominions, and to reueng our selues vppon that accursed heretical Persian, that holdeth the same: now by the grace of our great God, and by the helpe of our most holy prophet Mahomet, we are very nere to obteyne our purpose, according to our desire, which being once done, al necessary prouision shalbe made out of hand for performance of thes thinges which you desire & demaunde, assuring you, that if you doe cõtinew this league of frenship puerly and sincerly, vvith this our high court, you shall finde no refuge more secure, nor any hauẽ of loue & good wil more firme & sure then this of owrs, by which no doubt al your

all your warrs vvith the ſpaniards ſhal ſuccede vnto you according vnto your deſire, vnder the ſhadow & protection of this our happy throne, and ſeing the king of Spayne hath gotten by fraude & violēce, al that he poſſeſſeth, no doubt, but by the grace of god, al ſuch fraudulent deceauers ſhal quickly be deſtroyed.

In the meane ſpace we do exhort you to leſe no tyme nor occaſion to do him hurt, but to be watchful and diligent, and according to the couenaunts alredy made betwene vs, that you ſhew your ſelfe a frend to our frendes, and an enimye to our enimyes, and that you ſignifie from tyme to tyme vnto this our high court, vvhat new warres ſoeuer be taken in hāde in thoſe partes, and what you can vnderſtand, concerning the King of Spaine to our and your commodity, furthermore I am, to aduertiſe you, that this your embaſſador hauing done his duety, and fulfilled the function of his embaſſie with great care & diligēce, & hauing left here in his place for his cōmiſſary & agent, Edward Bardon he departeth now with our licence towards your kingdome, who for his faythful ſeruice here performed deſerueth no doubt to be much eſteemed honored & exalted aboue others, and when he hath gotten all thoſe honores & preheminenſes of you, which he deſerueth, let him returne agayne preſently with your letters, or ſome other principal man in his place, to be your embaſſador here, and to continew this office of frendſhip betwene vs in this our high court,

The Turkes exhortation to the Q.

To be his ſpie.

Commendation of the Inglish embabaſſadour by the Turke.

Edvv. Bardon.

and thus much we thought good to aduertiſe you, by our owne ſoueraigne lettres and ſeale, which you ſhal giue intiie credit vnto. Giuen this fiftenth of Benedicti *Rhamaram*.

Hitherto is the lettre of the greate Turke vnto your Queene, that is to ſay, of that greate proude and barbarous enemy of Chriſtes holy name and religion, wheruppon this *Dydimus* doth deduce dyuers conſiderations of importance & conſequence, as namly firſt of al, about religiō, and cōſcience, ſaying who would haue thought when Inglād vppō pretence of purer ſeruing of Chriſt, did firſt ſeperate it ſelfe in religiō frō the reſt of Chriſtian kingdomes, that it would haue come in ſo few yeares, to that paſſe, as to make recourſe to Chriſtes open enemye & perſecutor, & that agaynſt Chriſtians? as alſo that for the hatred of ſome one Chriſtian Prince, to ſeke to put into Chriſtes enemyes handes, ſo many millions of his ſubiects as are in Spayne? and to put in hazard al Chriſtendome beſides.

Conſiderations vppon the Turkes letter.

2. The ſecond conſideration is of wiſdome and pollicy tēporal, for what wiſdome or pollicy in the world can ther be in this, ſayeth he (though we ſet a ſide al feare of God and religion) to call ſo potent an enemye as the Turk is, into Spayne, or to thinke that he would be a better frend to the ſtate and ſubiects of Ingland, that are Chriſtians, then the king of Spayne, that is a Chriſtian, or to imagin that when Spayne ſhould be loſt, Ingland could be ſafe, or when this ambicious tyrant ſhould haue enthralled the ſpainards,

nards, he would ſuffer the Engliſh to liue at their liberty? was not Conſtantinople? was not Africa and many other realmes loſt from Chriſtianity by this moſt diueliſh and miſerable enuy, of one realme and Prince agaynſt a nother.

A third conſideration is of honour and reputation, which ſeemeth excedingly to be touched and diſtayned by many poyntes in this lettre diſcouered, for what a thing is it ſayeth he, that Ingland which was wont to be a kingdome of ſo great honour, nobility, and valor in kingly proceding, ſhould now come to make ſuch a narratiō to the great Turke, as here is ſet doune, by the tyrants owne letter, to wirt, that the kinge of Spayne meant to make him ſelfe lord of al Chriſtēdome, and monarch of al the world; that he hath taken Portugal by violence from *Don Antonio* the lawful king, & lawfully created, vvheras al the world knoweth that the Kings title to Portugal was decided by the lawes of that kingdom it ſelfe, and by the approbation of the laſt king Cardinal of the ſame, vvho alſo pronounced *Don Antonio* for an open knowne baſtard, vvhom all the nobility afterwards refuſed and no man euer created him king, but only a few of his owne ſeruants and ſome other of the baſer vulgar people ſollicited by them in Liſbone and other partes neare ther about: and yet that Ingland to the Turke ſhould aduoutch him playnly for a lawful king and put out by violence, exhort the Turke to reſtore him by his forces according to the cuſtome of his noble

aunceſtors vvho are knowne to haue deuoured ſo infinite chriſtian bloode and haue deſtroyed ſo inumerable chriſtian eſtates wherein our Sauiour vvas longe honored and now Mahomet is adored: that Ingland ſhould offer concurrance in this diueliſh action, and ſhould take a cõmiſſion from the Turck (as in this his letter is giuen) to be a ſpie agaynſt the reſt of chriſtianity, and to aduertiz him of al new vvarres & affayres that paſſe amonge Chriſtian Princes, & finally to be a frend to al his frendes, and enimy to al his enimyes, vvhich is the higheſt infamye that euer could fal vppon any ſtate realme or kingdome that beareth the name enſigne or profeſſion of Chriſtian religion.

Great indignitye to Inglãd.

Thes and other contemplations hath this author vppon this matter, vvhich I paſſe ouer and do come to tel you that beſides thes bookes and tretiſes vvritten in Latine, I haue alſo ſeene diuers pamphlets vvritten in Ingliſh agaynſt this proclamation no leſſe ſtinging then the other in Latin, and al of them both of the one and the other ſorte, tranſlated commonly into other vulgar tonges alſo, as Spaniſh Italian french and flemiſh, which do make the commõ ſubiect of ordinary talke in thes dayes to be of your affayres in euery countrey.

Father *Ribadeneyra* agaynſt the proclamation and nevv ſtatuts.

And laſt of al, here hath come forth a booke in Spaniſh vvritten by one father *Pedro Ribadeneyra* a man of very great reputation in thes kingdomes both for his learning grauity and eloquence in this language, and this booke conteyneth

conteyneth the ſtorye of Ingliſh affayres from the yeare eightie and eight (vntil vvhich time he had ſet forth the ſaid ſtory in Spaniſh before according to the latin ſtory of the Ingliſhe Schiſme vvritten by D. Sanders and Riſton and other aduertiſments) and novv he continueth this, euen vnto this yeare 93. And in this ſaid ſtory he layeth forth alſo the ſaid proclamation at large, and afterwarde writeth diuers large chapters for explication of the ſame, wher of the one is, (as I remember) that this proclamation is moſt impious and contrary to al diuine & humane lavves receaued in any chriſtian common vvelth, eſpecially in Ingland from her firſt conuerſion. An other chapter is, that this proclamation is not only impious, but alſo foliſh and indiſcret, againſt all good pollicy and mature wiſdome. A third is, that it is impudent and vvritten vvithout all reſpect of ſhame, honor, or reputation of your eſtat and nation, auontching lye vppon lye, that al the vvorld knoweth to be lyes, vvith diuers other ſuch chapters which he proueth at large, & with many particulers, & in fyne concludeth, that the penner of this proclamation would be ſharply puniſhed in any orderly and graue common wealth for penning it in ſuch manner, and for auoutching ſo many open impertinent lyes, and euident ſlaunders vnder the name of his ſoueraigne, though the chiefe matter it ſelfe therin ſet downe, vvere allovved and agreed vppon by publique authority,

Cap. 1.

Cap. 2.

Cap. 3.

at it is

as it is ſuppoſed that this was by your Queene and councel there.

The tvvo laſt Statutes.

Moreouer this ſpaniſh book layeth forth two new ſtatutes made about religion in your laſt parliament ended the 10. of Aprill of this preſent yeare, which ſeeme to haue come to the authors handes euen vvhiles the former parte of this booke was a printing, the one is intituled *an Act to retayne the Queenes ſubiects in their due obedience: and the other for reſtrayning of popiſh recuſants to certayne places of aboade*, by the which tvvo ſtatutes and the ſtrange prouiſions made therein, as alſo, by the ſundry bookes ſet out by authority at this very tyme agaynſt the puritans, vvith the enditmẽts arraynments and ſtrange anſvveres of Barrow, Greenwod, Studly, Billet and other Brownists: by al thes thinges layd togeither (I ſay) and by the acte of three entyre ſubſides, and ſix filteenes, and tenthes exacted and graunted, at one clapp in this parliament, for maynteyning of warres abroade and your eſtate at home, this writter concludeth, that neuer common welth vvas in more miſerable and dangerous plight for al kinde of miſeries that can fal to a common wealth, then Ingland is at this day: and conſequently moſt far of from that condicion of peace, tranquility and ſecurity vvhich your lord Treaſorer in this late proclamation would make men to beleeue, vvheras himſelfe muſt needes (ſayeth this man) ſee and know the contrary; as al men alſo abroade do, that are of iudgment or experience, and moreouer doe

uer doe diſcouer his deſperat deuiſe of remeding the matter by maſſacring and murthing al the principall catholiques vppon the ſudden vvhen ſoeuer he ſhal ſee no other ſhift, for that to this end playnely ſemeth to tend this laſt ſtatute of bynding al the better and richer ſort of them to reſide in certayne knowne places and not to departe thence further then fiue miles vnder payne of forfeting vvhat-ſoeuer they haue in this vvorld, vvhich is to fill Ingland full of priſons and chaynes, as the flemiſh *Didimus* before inſinuated: a diuiſe ſo ſtrange vppon ſo great a multitude as neuer was hard of before in any free common vvealth, nor practiſed (ſayeth this man) eyther by Phalaris or any other moſt famous tyrant. Wherunto if vve add the ſecond part of the ſtatute vvherby the poorer ſorte of catholiques are appoynted to be thruſt out of the realme, ſpovled and ranſaked, of al that they haue, it maketh the barbarous deſigment more euident (ſayeth he) to vvitt, that thes ſhalbe driuen to ſtatue abroad and the others be kept for the ſlaughter at home, vvhen the tyme ſhall ſerue, but god turneth lightly (ſayeth he) all ſuch cruell and bloody intentions vppon the heades of the entendors and their poſterity, and ſo doth he thinke that it vvill fall out vvith your lord Treaſorer and his offpring and this is all that I can vvrite vnto you from thes partes.

THE

THE SECOND PARTE

of this letter, conteyning certaine consideratiõs of State vppon the former relation.

THis that goeth before I hadd vvritten in Spayne to send to you from thence, but afterward ther being offred a good passage by sea, to returne to Holland vvith certayne company that vvould needs haue me go vvith them out of hand, I took my papers and came hither, wher meeting vvith diuers gentlemen, captaynes, schollers, and others, as wel Inglish, Scottish, Irish, & Frēch, as also some Italians & Dutchmē both of this country and high Germany (for al sortes you know do meete here now) vve fel by chaunce into talk of Ingland, and of Inglish affayres vppon occasion of the former bookes published in al natiõs, as hath bene said, against the present procedinge of your state, & namely agaynst your last proclamation and statutes, nevvly made about religion, by which occasion also I tould them vvhat I had seene, and hard in Spayne and read vnto them the former letter & narration vvhich I had made redy to seale vp & send avvay presently vnto you by the post, but afterwardes hearing diuers politique and important discourses (as to me they semed) vvhich some of these men made vppon this narration of myne, and some considerations also of state, as they termed them, vvorthy the noting:

though

thought good to ſtay the letter by me for ſome dayes to the end I might ſend you alſo therwith the principal pointes which I hard debated, and ſo now I doe.

The chiefe ſubiect or argument of al their ſpeech for diuers dayes meeting at an ordinary table, was whether the preſent gouerment of Engliſh affayres, ſetting a ſide al regard of partiality to religion: were in it ſelfe and according to reaſon, experience and law of pollicy, to be accounted, wiſe and prudent, and conſequently whether ſuch as chiefly managed the ſame, and namely the lord Burley, were in truth a wiſe má or no? in which particuler though ſome of the company for affection to his religion, did for a tyme ſtand much in his defence, yet ſo many were the argumẽts of the other ſide, as in the end they ſemed greatly to yeild, & to wiſh nothing ſo much, as that the ſaid lord had bin preſent but for one houre, if it had bin poſſible, or ſome other that were priuy to his councelles, to yeild reaſon of diuers points there called in queſtion, which ſemed ſcarſe defenſable, not only for lack of iuſtice or cõſcience (for that therof they ſaid they would take no regard) but that euen in nature of humane wiſdome and pollycy ſet downe by Machauel him ſelfe, or by any other of leſſe conſcience then he, they ſeemed erronions and of thes are ſuch as hereafter do enſue.

The chiefe ſubiect of the cõference.

First ſome of them ſaid (though not al) that ſuppoſing that nether the Queene nor Sir William

The firſt conſidera tiõ about chang of religion.

liam Cecil, at the death of Queene Mary had any great repugnance of conſcience to followv and continew on the religion then ſetled in the realme, as both of them (but eſpecially Sir Williā Cecil) had oftentymes proteſted & euer ſhewed by deedes during that reigne: it ſemed a great ouerſight in reaſon of ſtate to make ſo vniuerſal a change of religion (vvhich hath bin the cauſe of al difficulties and daungers ſince) ſeing that vvithout this change the Queene and he might haue brought about, vvith much more ſecurity, vvhatſoeuer they pretended by this other meanes, and hereuppon, vvere brought agayne into conſideratiō, al thoſe reaſons and arguments of ſtate vvhich at that tyme Sir William Cecil & M. Bacon did or could lay before the Queene, to moue her to this change againſt both her owne inclination, and the opinious of the reſt of her principal councellors vvhich reaſons concerning eſpecially (as is ſuppoſed and knowne) her Maieſties affayres vvith the pope, about her fathers mariage, and her legitimation, vvere founde by euery mans cenſure here preſent, to be but playne illuſions, for that much eaſier ſhould her Maieſty haue bin able to compound thoſe affayres vvith the pope, if ſhe had continewed in his religion, then by breaking from him, and for all other temporal matters, both for her owne perſon & the realme they had proceded (no doubt) moſt proſperouſly, and neuer come into thes brakes & breaches vvherin now the vvhole world ſeeth them to be. And as for M. Cecil and Ba-

cons owne particulet aduancements (vvhich is perſuppoſed vvere principally reſpected in this perſuaſion) there vvould not haue wanted occaſions enough to furder the ſame alſo in a catholique eſtate, as vve ſee by ſo many aduaunced & ſet vp by catholique Kinges of our country in former ages, and the two late minions Ioyous and Pernon, exalted in our dayes to ſo great dignityes by the laſt King of fiance. And *Rigouez* of a page made a Prince, and two of his ſonnes Dukes vvith diuers others to like prefermentes aduanced by the king of Spayne that novvis, & that vvith much leſſe enuy, hatred and abhomination, and vvith much more ſecurity of Continuance to their families, then the greatnes of Cecil and Bacō is like to finde, ſay theſe men, that vvas procured by ſo great a conuulſion of the vvhole common vvealth, and therfore in this firſt poynte and entrance to al the reſt, they are thought to haue byn neyther vviſe nor lucky, as one day their poſterity vvil teſtify to the world, & this is the firſt point that was diſcourſed of.

The ſecond enſewing on this firſt, vvas, that ſuppoſing that change of religion had byn the beſt, and ſureſt vvay for thoſe intents that vvere deſigned, to vvitt of her Maieſties ſtate and thes mens preferments, yet ſayd moſt of this our conference, it had bin a matter of farr more wiſdome and pollicy (ſeing pollicy vvas their founddation) to haue made this change to ſome other religiō receaued in the vvorld abroad, and therby

The 1. cōſideratiō of chang of religiō to a different from all others.

to haue ioyned vvith ſome other party, or to the communion of ſome other people or prince, when they brake from that of the Catholique, ſo ſtrong and general ouer al Chriſtendome, rather then to ſet vp a party alone, agreeing vvith no other vvhat ſoeuer. As for example, if they had councelled her Maieſty to admitt Luthers doctrine and religion as it lyeth, and is practiſed by the followers therof they had conſequently ioyned vvith ſome Princes of Germany, as namly vvith the Duke of Saxony, King of *Denmarck* and others that make profeſſion of that religion. Or if they had perſuaded her grace to haue imbraced the religion of Caluin plainly and intirely as he taught and exerciſed theſame, then had they entred therby into communion and frenſhip vvith Geneua and diuers others ſtates of Swizerland, as alſo vvith the Princes of the religion, called the reformed in France Flanders and Scotland, and by thes meanes, at leaſt had they gayned ſome new party to be aſſured to our realme, by this band and vnion of religiō, which is the ſtrongeſt and moſt durable of al other.

But novv for them to put downe the old ſtate of religion that was ſo vniuerſal and ſo vvel backed, and in place therof to put vp a nevv of their owne only deuiſe, that hath no ſtay or truſty frend at al, out of your owne realme, for that it agreeth vvith no ſtate, people, natiō or common vvealth chriſtian beſides your ſelues: vvas ſuch a peece of work (ſay thes men) as a man may rather wonder at the boldnes of the deuiſers

then any way commend their iudgments considering the incõueniences that dayly do ensew therof and must doe euery day more and more, and is impossible in mans reason, that it can continew.

And albeit in Ingland simple people are often told and many do beleue, that al new religions sprong vp in thes dayes both in Germany, france, Scotland, flaunders & at home, if they be against the Catholiques, and namely those of Lutherãs, Caluinistes, and protestants are but one religion in effect, for that they al doe ioyne in league and frendship for the present, to resist the stronger, yet that is as playne an error, and deception as if vve should say, that the Turk, Persian, Iew and Infidels, which do ioyne easily against the Christians when and wher they see him the stronger, are al of one religion, or not enemyes among themselues vvhen they see their owne state free from danger of the other.

No religion this day agreeth vvith Ingland.

Euen so, fareth it in this cause proposed, the Lutheran, puritan, & protestant that haue taken ech one his parte of the dominion which the Catholique possessed, and yet seing him left so strong and potent in Christendom, that euery day he hopeth and seketh to recouer agayne the possession that he hath lost, no maruaile though they ioyne togeather, and wil seeme one for the resisting of so vniuersal and dangerous an aduersary: but if you would see, how thes men would agree or be frendes together, if once the Catholiques vvere extinguished, consider not only

The lutrans and Caluinistes & puritãs great enimyes.

their difference in doctrine, wherby the one part doth censure the others religiõ for hetetical and damnable: but much more marke their manner of proceding in gouerment, where eyther part hath authority at wil: as for example, in thos parts of Germany wher Luthers religion is estabiished, is ther any vse of Caluins religion permitted? no truly, nor the professors therof so much as tollerated to liue in that estate or to be buryed in the same churches or church-yeards with them, but are cast out euen into the common feilds, as people accursed, aud excommunicated, vvherof in particuler your Inglish marchants that lyue and trafique in Hambrough or any other townes vnder Lutheran gouermẽt can wel beare witnes. Or if contrary-wise in Ingland or Geneua at this day, any company of people would put vp the exercise of the Lutherã masse, defende the real presence in the Sacramẽt, bring in the vse of paynted or carued images in their churches, practise confession, hold three or fower sacramẽts as the Lutherãs do: should they not (think you) be pursued and punished? yes no doubt, and that with reason, seing the state of Ingland alloweth not this doctrine, nor practise of germayne religiou, wherby we may gather what true accord and frenship ther is or may be, bet vene thes professions, or how thes people would or could long liue together in vnity if they had no common aduersary.

And this of the Lutheran and reformed religiõ so called in those parts of Germany, wher it

is receaued

is receaued: But if we consider the other party of reformed or new religiō planted by Caluin and Beza in Geneua, France, Flaunders and Scotland, albeit the state of Inglād do follow more points therof in doctrin then of the other before named Lutheran: yet how many and great irrecōciliable differences ther be, is abundantly set forth in the multitude of bookes written of late the one agaynst the other, & especially by that set out now presently by order and authority of the bishops intituled. *A survay of the pretended holy discipline*, wherin the puritans or sincere Caluinists doctrine is detested discredited and made heretical, and seditions, yea Caluin and Beza themselues much disgraced and impugned. Wherunto, if we do add the blood of such as lately they haue put to death in Ingland, for defending of this doctrine, & the others resolution to suffer the same: we may easely see what would become of thes two partes if things went to their owne willes, to witt, that eyther the puritan had so ful power to reuenge himselfe of the protestant by sword, as he defyeth him in worde, or that the protestant were so free from suspition and danger of the catholique, as he had leasure to extirpat the puritan as he desireth.

The lyke ts b s. g vvoc. Penry.

By this then do we see euidently sayed thes mē, that the particuler choise & forme of religiō which Sir William Cecil & M. Bacō mad & persuaded the Queen vnto at the beginning, was no wise or considerate choise: for albeit it semed

at that tyme, to ſerue fitly their turnes for to put downe the old, and bring al matters into their owne handes, to place new biſhops, Deanes, Atchdeacons and other like dignityes vnder the name of the Queene: yet was it moſt dangerous and preiudicial to the weal publique, in that it was peculiar, ſolitary and differét from al other, as hath bin declared, and conſequently muſt needs expect a perpetual warr and contradictiō, and that, not only at the catholiques handes, but much more and ſharper at the other two parties aboue named, if the catholique party could be extinguiſhed, ſo as the laberinth of Engliſh ſtate and religion, ſeemeth hereby to be inextricable,

S. Chriſtophor Hattōs ſaying.

and much approued was the ſaying of *S. Chriſtopher Hatton* late chauncelor, to a certayne ſecret frende of his a lyttle before his death, that the clew tayned vp by thes deuiſes in England, was ſo Intanged, as no man poſſibly could vntwiſt the ſame but by breaking al in peces, which he ſpake to the great grief both of himſelfe and him that heard it.

A third conſideratiō of the manner of proceding by cōpulſio in matters of religiō.

A third conſideration was of the manner of proceding to hould vp and ſett forwards this forme of religion, choſen for England: in which poynte alſo thes men founde much defect of fore ſight and pollicy in thes that were the firſt ſetters vp therof: for if her maieſty had bin perſwaded at the begining, to haue followed the courſe of Germayne ſtates and Princes, which was to giue liberty of conſcience to al, and to preſſe none by violent meanes, to be of their religion,

ligion, but only to inuite them with rewards of preferment: it is very like that matters had paſſed as quietly this day in Ingland as they do in Germany, where al are quiet, and the princes ſafe, and little contradictions or falling out for ſuch affayres. And ſeing that Inglish men do come of Germayne race, it may be they would haue followed them in this poynt alſo, but howſoeuer that be, moſt likely it is that matters had neuer come to thoſe open broyles, hatreds and mortal enimyties that now they are come vnto in Ingland: for men being not preſſed, many would haue had little care of being zelous or heddy on eyther part: & preferment only would haue moued infinite people to follow that wherby they might haue profited: and others not ſtinged or compelled to the cõtrary, would haue remayned doubtful, but yet quiet in their conſultations, what way to follow, and ſo ſhould her Maieſty haue bin ſerued of al, and hated of none, and aduauncments ſufficient would haue remayned for al ſuch as would haue bin forward in that her Maieſty had moſt fauored.

But now by this other courſe, that hath bin taken, of tormoyling, tormenting, and beating men to their religion, the ſtate is growne to be both odious a broad, and dangerous at home, and not durable. Firſt, for that as the poet ſayeth. *Nitimur inuetitum ſemper*, mans natural inclination, is to eſteeme and deſire that which is denyed him, and to reiect that, which is thruſt vppon him by violẽce. But yet in no one thinge

so much is this seene, as in matters of religion, which of al other affayres, is the poynt that most requireth liberty, both of iudgment and will, & least beareth the force of straying: and so we see by experience, that her Maiesty at the beginning, entering and raigning for some yeares with mildnes, found no difficulty, (to speak of) on any part though at her entrãce the whole realme was, settled in an other religiõ. but now after twenty yeares pressing men with restraints, imprisonments, losse of goodes and liues, the number is founde euery day more greater of them, that openly make resistance, and do lesse respect and reuerence both prince law and gouuermẽt: and so euery day wilbe more and more, both of Catholiques and puritans for the reasons afore said. Which thing certayne pollitick councellors of, Iulian the Emperor surnamed the Apostata obseruing by experiẽce of al the rigorous courses of former Emperors before hym, they persuaded him to change that course of forcing, into alluring, and so he did, and wrought more effect in few yeares by that meanes, then the other had done by the contrary in many, and would (no doubt) haue done much more, if his life and reigne had not bin so short.

An obiection. To this discourse said one of the company, if this be so, how then do catholiques vse rigor in punishing them that are not of there religion, and do preuaile therin, as we see by experience of Spayne and other countryes, wherofte tymes thes new religions beginning to budd vp haue bin kept

bin kept downe and vtterly extinguished by punishment.

To this answered an other saying, they wil saye that the cause of this is the truth of their religion, and the falshood of the other, & that it is peculiar to their religion, by promise of Christ, to endure for euer, and triumph ouer al sects: but for that this is not graunted by al but remayneth in dispute, (I wil quoth he) yeald an euident difference heerof in pollicy and reason, which is, that Catholique Princes which by force and punishment, haue extinguished other religions, and sects that began to spring vp in there realmes, did take thos new blossomes at the begining whiles they were yet grene, and not wel setled and their followers not many, & so I do confesse that all religions may be rooted out, sauing only the trew which Christ himselfe defendeth, and so many do thinke that if Charles the Emperor had apprehended Luther at his first seing him in *Augusta*, (as many of his counsel perswaded him) he had crushed perhapps his doctrine in the very kyrnel, and the like may be said of Caluin and Beza, as also perchaunce of the puritans in England if rigor had bin vsed towards them at their first rising: though this last of the Puritans be very doubt ful, for that their foundation being (as after shalbe shewed) the very doctrine it self that by publique authority is set forth, taught, and maynteyned now in England: it must needes continually rise out of the same, as the heate frō the fyer so as it is impossible to

The answere.

ble to nouriſh the one & extinguiſh the other.

Catholiques not eaſely extinguiſhed.

As for the Catholiques in Ingland, the reaſon is far different, for they being no new beginers but old poſſeſſors of the realme, they vvere ſo many at her Maieſtyes firſt entraunce to the crowne, as they could not wel be al extinguiſhed together, except the land ſhould haue bin left waſt, nor can be eaſely at this day extinguiſhed by force in any reaſon of ſtate or probability that I can ſee: for I do not comprehende thoſe only by this name, which are recuſants and diſcouer thēſelues vnto the world (for thoſe might eaſely perhapps be made away as many do ſuſpect is meant by the late ſtatute of reſtrayning them to certayne places) but much more do I vnderſtād by this people thoſe alſo, who goe not ſo far forwardes as to diſcouer their religion (at leaſt wiſe to put themſelues within danger of lawes) and yet in mynde, wil, and iudgement, are they nothing behinde the reſt, yea ſo much the more feruent inwardly, agaynſt the ſtate, by how much more they are forced by feare to diſſemble outwardly their iudgements, and keep in their affections, and thes are alſo of two ſortes, the one knowne or ſuſpected, though nothing cā be layed agaynſt thē by law, but the other not knowne nor ſuſpected at al, but of good authority in the realme, and ſo much the more dangerous when occaſion ſhalbe offred.

Agaynſt, al thes then, what doth the courſe of ſeuerity preuayle? thoſe few that are knowne recuſants may be vexed and toſſed, as they haue bin thes

bin thes later yeares, and ſome particuler courtyer may be aduanced by begging their goodes and landes, but vvhat is this to the common wealth? none or few of them are conuerted: ther number groweth euery day rather then deminiſheth, and if any do or ſhal yeald to goe to the church, what is gayned therby? they change not in iudgment, nor come vvith their hartes, but vvith their bodyes or tong only, their inward auerſion is ſo much the more increaſed towards the ſtate, by how much more violent this outward compulſion is: and in the meane ſpace their frendes and kynred are more exaſperated, their fellow catholiques not yet recuſants alienated: the people ſeing their afflictions more moued to compaſſion towards them, forrayne princes more egged to take their partes, what then in the end is like to come of this.

And if you put thẽ to death or driue thẽ out of the realme, as many haue bin thes latter yeares, vvhat profitt alſo is ther like to come of this? let vs geſſe of the tyme to come by that which is paſt: thoſe hũdreths that haue bine put to death, haue they done the ſtate good or hurte? abroad we ſee thẽ publiſhed for martyres, in al bookes, tables, pictures and ſtoryes that are vvritten, and no one thinge euer moued ſtrangers ſo much to admire, Inglãd as the ſight & knowledge of this.

Inconueniences by putting ſo many mẽ to death for religion.

At home their eſtimation and parties do increaſe hereby, ſeing ther is none that eyther is baniſhed or put to death for this cauſe, but is eyther eſtemed as a martyr or cõfeſſor, by them,

and ſo

& so eyther in respect of his holynes or in hope he may returne agayne to do them good one day, or for desire of reuenge for his hard vsage, ther is no father, brother, sonne, nephew, kinsman, frende or acquaintance of his left in Ingland which by this is not made a mortal enimye to his persecutors, and how far this may reatch and extend it selfe in such an Iland as Ingland is, or what effects it may worke in tyme to come, I leaue it (sayeth this man) to your wiser considerations.

The increase of seminaries.

Moreouer (sayeth he) I would haue you to consider that before order vvas giuen in Inglish vniuersities at home, to examine schollers and presse them to othes, the Inglish scholler vvas scarse hard of in forrayne scholes and vniuersytyes, neyther vvas there mention of Inglish seminaryes to be erected in straynge countries, but after that vppon molestation at home, schollers began to repayre ouer to Doway, and then vppon the practise from Ingland to driue them from thence, they fledd to Rhemes and increased greatly in number (though al left not Doway but for one remayned two places of recourse) and then agayne vppon dealing with the king of france for their expulsion from Rhemes an other Seminary also was erected by the pope in Rome, and after that agayne when this vvas pursued from Ingland by many edictes, an other vvas erected in Valliodolid in Spayne, and after an other proclamation set out agaynst that, an other Seminary presently vvas set vp in Seuil, a

before

before in the narration hath bin touched, and out of thes haue and do come euery yeare into Ingland Prieſtes in ſuch abundance, as my Lord Treſorer himſelfe confeſſeth that for one that came into Ingland before, ther commeth now ſeuen, and perhapps he might haue ſaid ſeuenteene, and albeit aboue a hundreth of them haue bine put to death, yet more hundreths grow of them euery day, and in the meane ſpace her Maieſty waxeth old, the realme groweth to more diſſention and confuſion in religion, the Puritans become very hoat and heady, the people wearyed and amazed, whith thes manner of procedings, what thē ſhalbe thee end at lēght of this courſe think you?

Truely quoth one of the company for this poynt of the Catholiques, I know not vvhat to ſaye, the euent being doubtful, for the cauſes & experience which you haue now alleaged: but for the puritans I haue hard ſome men of diſcourſe auouch in Ingland, that they will certainly be extinguiſhed, if the Queenes Maieſtie liue any number of yeares for that the whol councell ſemeth fully bent therunto, & were it not for my L. Treaſorer vvho is thought to fauour them in ſecret, men iudge that it would very quickly be brought to paſſe.

VVhether the Puritans may be rooted ont or not in Ingland.

Tuſh, you are deceaued ſaid the other, nay much more poſſible & likely it is that the puritan ſhal ouercome the proteſtant then the contrary: for that the puritan buyldeth directly vpon the proteſtants firſt groundes in religion, & deduceth

deduceth therof clearly and by ordinary conſequence al his concluſions, which the proteſtant cannot deny by divinity, but only by pollicy & humane ordination, or by turning to catholique anſwers contrary to ther owne principles: and therfore it is hard for any man ſincerly to be a proteſtant, but that he wil eaſily paſſe on alſo more or leſſe to be a puritan: and only they in effect wilbe agaynſt them, who are intereſſed in the other ſide, as Archbiſhopes, Biſhopes, Archdeacons, chanons, notaryes, regiſters, ciuil lawers & the like, for not leeſing their cõmodityes, and ſome few councellors alſo perhaps for not offending the Queene, who aboue al others is intereſſed in this affayre, and yet al theſe, being but the leſſer number in reſpect of the multitude (though of moſt power for there preſent authority) it ſhalbe impoſſible to extinguiſh the Puritans, except they extinguiſh firſt the principles and foundations of proteſtants religion, vpon which puritans do grounde.

Which thing my L. Burley I vvarrant you vvel vnderſtandeth (ſayeth he) and for that cauſe ſeeketh now to hould ſo great a hand with them, whom he contemned for ſome yeares paſt, vvhen they vvere vveaker. And albeit in this laſt parliament, to content the Queene, my L. of Canterbury, and ſome others of the councel that fauour them not, and to get others to ſtick the leſſe at yelding to the ſtatute agaynſt catholiques, he vvas content alſo to let paſſe an acte agaynſt the puritans: yet is it ſo qualified vvith

fauorable

fauorable clauſes in their behalfe (put in diuers of them by his honor as is thought after the parliament ended) as is eaſily diſcouered that he wiſheth them vvel, and the very laſt clauſe of al the act, wherin it is ſayd, that the vvhole act ſhal indure no longer then vntil the next ſeſſion of parliament, playnely declareth the great feare which the whole ſtate hath of them, and that the councel vvalketh on thornes and ſtandeth doubtful as yet vvhat the euent vvilbe, & how this firſt act agaynſt the puritanes vvilbe taken and digeſted by them, and according to this, aſſure your ſelfe the execution of the ſtatute ſhalbe, and conſequently feare you not, the extinction of the puritans, but rather lett the proteſtants loke vvel to themſelues vvho haue by this proceding of my L. Treſorer brought both puritans and catholiques on their backes. And vvittely ſpake Sargeant Owin of late in my opinion, at the Barr agaynſt Barrow and Grenewode, that vvere araygned and executed, that puritanes and papiſts vvere like dangerous pioners, that began to digg at the two endes, and would incloſe at the length the proteſtant in the middle, and meete at the very hart of the realme, vnderminyng the ſame before it could be remedied: vvhich no doubt by al humane reaſon of ſtate and common wealth, muſt be ſo. and cannot long hould out in this courſe, that now it followeth, and conſequently they vvere no great vviſe men that began the ſame.

Sargeant Owins ſpeech of late.

To this diſcourſe al held their peace for a

vvhile, looking the one vppon the other who ſhould anſwere, vntil at length one ſayde. As for the puritans (Sir quoth he) I am fully of your opinion, that it wilbe a hard peece of vvork to roote them out, but rather that they are like to ouercome in the end, both proteſtants and papiſtes: the proteſtants, for the reaſons you now haue giuen, that they do buyld vppon the very firſt groundes of al Engliſh proteſtants, that follow Caluins doctrine, and do ſeme to pretend but only the perfection and true vſe therof, and conſequently that reaſon of yours hath much fitted my vnderſtanding, that their can ſcarce be a zelous Engliſh proteſtant (for I meddle not vvith Lutherans in Germany) but that he vvil paſſe eaſily to be a puritan, if ſome particuler intereſt do not hinder him, which cannot be preſumed of the maior part, and ſo in tyme if this religion hold in England, it muſt needes be, that this partye alſo of the Puritan vvil certaynly forward in like manner, and preuaile agaynſt the other, but eſpecially if once a Prince ſhould enter that did fauour them indede, as eaſely may be imagined, that any other proteſtāt Prince lightely vvil do, after her Maieſty, vvho ſhal not be ſo ſetled in this manner of gouerment as her Maieſty is, nor ſo perſwaded agaynſt thes men as this Queene is, and hath bin hitherto by al her councellors, and by none more perhapps in tyme paſt, then by my L. Treſorer vvho now being of an other mynde and deſignement (as is preſumed) though he dare not vtter it perchance

The probilities that puritanes vvill preuaile.

chance to this Queene, yet vvil he eaſely finde reaſons to perſvvade the ſame to an other Prince, that ſhal come after, if he liue to that day as perhapps he may hope to doe, alleaging and laying before him that now tymes cauſes and circumſtances are altered, and ſeing the puritans now ſo ſtrong it may be dangerous to reſiſt them, and that their religion is not to take any thing from the Prince, but rather to bring vnto him, for as the proteſtants religion brought abbyes, Nunryes, and other religious houſes to the temporal Prince, ſo this wil bring Archbiſhop rikes, Biſhoprickes, Deanryes, Archdeaconryes with other ſemblable good morſels of welth, by vvhich reaſons it vvil not be hard, to perſvvade any other Prince, that hath not the auerſion imprinted in him as this Queene hath, to enkendle his zeal to be a puritan. And this is the likelyhoode that I conceaue that puritans wil preuaile in tyme againſt the proteſtants: and this tyme I beleeue is not ſo far of as that you ſhal euer ſee this act now made agaynſt them continued, or renued, in any other parliament & ſo it is likely that thoſe of their partye vvel vnderſtoode it vvhen they lett this ſtatute paſſe in this parliament, rather to awaken the puritans therby in deed then to ſeeke their redreſſe or conformitye in religion. For what? doe you thinke that any Puritan in the world wil euer be forced to make that forme of recantation and humiliation to the proteſtant, which is ſet downe in the ſtatute? to

Reaſons for the puritan religion.

As landes alſo of colleges in tyme.

vvit, *that I do humbly confesse and acknowledge that I haue greuously offended god in vsing and frequenting disordered and vnlawfull conuenticles vnder pretence & colour of exercise of religion, &c.* Nay I thinke verily the protestant shal first make him eate his communion booke which he so much detesteth) before he shall driue him to make this recantation. It may chance driue him to buckle with the protestant *de summa rei*, somewhat sooner then he had thought before, therby to try which of them shall haue the vpper hand to force the other to recāt, but him I thinke, verely they shal neuer bring vnder, but rather by egging of him put him sooner vp, vvho first or last wil rise aboue the other, at leastvvise this is my iudgment of the matter take it as you wil.

And as for the papist, me thinke the difficulty of victory is much lesse agaynst him, eyther for puritan or protestāt that wilbe ridd of him, seing that now by this act of parliament (as hath bin sayde) they haue him by the legg and so tyed vp & limited, as they may eyther ruine or weary him at their pleasure, whensoeuer occasion or need shal requite.

An other opinion that puritans shal not so easily prevaile.

To this an other replyed, that as the puritans had great oppottunity to grow and go forvvard vvhile the Queene and councel were occupied in repressing papistes, so did not he thinke notwithstanding that their victory vvas so suer or easie on eyther side, that is to say, eyther agaynst protestants or papistes, as this man made it, for

as for

as for the ſtate preſent (ſayeth he) it is certayne that authoritie is ſo bent agaynſt them, for ſeing the ruyne that by them is iminent, as it is like, they vvil neuer ceaſe to purſue them: & wheras you ſay, that ther is neuer a proteſtant of zeale but vvil eaſely paſſe on to be a puritan, except he be ſtayed by intereſt, it may be ſo in many, vvho do only runne forwards from poynt to poynte of new doctrines and religions, with ſuch heate and greedines, as they neuer looke further but to that which is before them, but in many others it may breed perhapps a contrary effect, to witt that they vvil rather draw backvvards agayne, conſidering ther is no ſtay, nor ende, nor certanty in running ſo much forwarde, as we haue ſeene in our dayes, from papiſts to Lutherans, from Lutherans to Svvinglians, from Swinglians to Caluiniſts, from Caluiniſts to puritans, and now laſt of al from puritans agayne of a mylder ſort, vnto heddy Browniſts, & this effect it is thought this conſideration may vvorke, eſpecially in diuers of the priuy councel it ſelf, who being men of wiſdom and ryper diſcourſe wil ſoner fal iuto ſuch an accompt.

Of the Prince that ſhal follovv.

And this for the ſtate preſent of Ingland: but as for any other Prince proteſtant that may ſucceade hereafter, the matter is vncertayne how he vvould be inclined in ſuch a caſe, and the reaſon which you alleaged, that the puritan religion wil take nothing from him, but add much vnto him, as biſhoprickes deanryes and

the like, it is very doubtful, with me how it would ſynck into him, and to his councel. For firſt it is euidēt, that the puritan religion taketh from the Prince al his primacy and authority eccleſiaſtical, which in a proteſtant gouerment is one of the chiefeſt pillars and foundations of al the reſt. The Browniſts alſo do take away his authority to make lawes, appoynt orders, & ſubiecteth him to the excommunications and cenſures of vulgar miniſteres and mutinous cō-gregations, and the practiſe therof we ſe partly in Scotland where the king is toſſed and tumbled by trobleſome people as it pleaſeth the miniſters vvithout heades, to blow into their eares, ſo as neyther he nor they haue any certainty of ſtay at all.

The reaſon alſo of adding biſhoprickes and other eccleſiaſtical liuings to the crowne is very doubtful and ambiguous with me, for ſeing they are alredy at the Princes diſpoſition, I ſee not vvhat great gift or additiō it can be to him, if any man wil pul them downe to his handes: nay it is now by experience of ſome yeares brought in queſtion, vvhether it vvere profitable eué for temporal reſpects vnto king Henry the eight, to pul downe the monaſteryes altogether and diſtribute there poſſeſſiōs to particular men as he did, or to haue permitted them to ſtand, and now and then to haue fleezed them of ther wealth, ſeing many are of opinion (and ſo am I alſo) that it is more gayne ful to ſheer euery yeare a ſheepe & now and then to pul of

frute from a tree, then to take at one tyme the woll and flesh of the one, or the frute & vvood togeather of the other, and this for the protestant.

In like manner I do not think the puritans victory agaynst the papist is like to be so easy as you imagin, for as for the massacre (if any such thing I hould be intended as I vvould thinke rather no) at least it is not probable that it vvilbe suffred in this Queenes dayes; first for the trouble and peril that such an act might bring vnto the common vvealth: and secondly for that therby the puritan I hould be strengthned and much armed to oppresse also the protestant, if once this coūterpoyze of the papist vvere cut of. The Catholiques not so easie to be extinguished.

And as for after her Maiesties death, vntil an other Prince be setled, of the many that are like to pretende it may be thought, that the Catholique vvil prouide sufficiently for himselfe, not to be oppressed by any sudden violence, which the more easily he shalbe able to do, for that it is impossible any such matter to be executed generally without some former designets conferences and consultations, seing that many must be the executioners therof, and as impossible it is, to haue any such consultations or designments, but that some, notice vvil come to the catholiques before hande, seing ther is no court councel, campe, or company lightly in Ingland, but that it hath some or other, eyther by conscience, religion, kindred, allyance, frenship, obligation or affection deuoted to some of

them, yea the very partyes themſelues that muſt be executioners of this act in euery ſhire, if it be done, let them be as forward other vviſe in any religion as they vvil, yet is it impoſſible but for ſome of the afore ſayd cauſes they wil ſhew ſome frenſhip, as it is eaſely ſene in al the ſearches that commonly are commaunded, vvhich being concluded neuer ſo ſecretly, are yet commonly fore knowne more or leſſe by the Catholiques, and much more wilbe ſo bloody & boyſterous an actiō as a maſſacre or general ſlaughter vvould be: and therfore my opinon is, that thes three partyes and factions of proteſtants, puritans, and papiſtes, vvil buckle together longer yet, then you do imagin, and which part ſhal haue the vpper hand in the ende, God only knoweth: and therfore if my L. Burley or Sir Nicholas Bacon, might haue auoyded this garboyle in the begining (as ſome here haue affirmed and it ſeemeth euident) or might haue tempered the ſame ſithence, vvith a more mylde manner of proceeding vvithout bringing the matter into this diſperate contention, or the ſtate into ſo euident dainger: no doubt but (as you ſay) they nether yvere nor are to be accoumpted men of grear vviſdome, or gouerment: as ſome haue eſteemed them, thus much vvas ſpoken of thes affayres.

The conclusion.

Sundry other poyntes of gouerment came in queſtion at this tyme, and vvere diſputed to and fro, and my L. Treſorers prudence therin diſcuſſed, as namely and among other thinges his pro-

Other poynts touching the Lord Burly.

his proceding vvith the nobilitye, vvhether it were true pollicy or no to procede ſo vvith the nobility as he hath done, pulling downe the principal and holding the reſt out of gouermẽt, and doings, vvhich was the fal and ruyne of Crumwell, as alſo the holding ſo many chiefe offices together in his owne handes, vvhich muſt needes be a moſt odious poynte, from which in pollicy an ambitious man hath to fly for better eſtabliſhing of that vvhich he getteth, but in thes things ther were ſo many reaſons alleaged on the one ſide & the other, as it was hard to giue iudgment vvhich vvas to be preferred *in Filijs huius Saculi.*

Other poyntes ther ſemed of more importance and conſequence as the open breaking with al the old leagues of Ingland, the ſpending of ſo infinite treaſure in forrayne and vnneceſſary warres, for which any Prince that ſhal follow muſt needes by al probabilyty cal him or his vnto accompt. The authoriſing of ſo open and ordinary piracy by vvhich the honor, ſubſtance, and ſubiects of the realme are ſo notoriouſly damaged, the multitude of ſtraingers drawne into the realme which deuour and impouerifh the natural inhabitants: the many bookes pamphletts and proclamations which he hath put forth with out conſideration, which haue giuen aduantage vnto the enemye: al thes thinges (I ſay) though diuers reaſons and conſiderations were alleaged to defend or excuſe them,

Other cõſiderations.

them: yet inclined the maior part of this confe-
rence, to note them rather of some vvant of
iudgment then othewise.

The Queenes not marrying.

But of al other thinges the matter of succession and her Maiestyes not marrying, vvas thought by al mens verdicts to make demonstration of grear and notable vvants in Sir William Cecil and M. Nicholas Bacon at the begynninge, not only of inature fore sight and wisdome, but also of true loue and respect towards their countrey and fidelity tovvards her Maiesty, for that seing their only ende in this great affayre to perswade her Maiesty not to marry, vnder pretence of more fredome and liberty, and lesse subiection to her person, could be no other in truth, but only for their owne greater power and hand ouer her, (vvhich they vvel saw could not hold so absolute if she had euer taken a husband) this consideratiō ought not to haue preuayled so much with them, eyther in conscience, reason, or pollicy, but that they should haue looked to the euent which now draweth on, to wit the peril of vniuersal distruction to their countrey, wherin them selues, their children, and posterity (for whose aduauncement they committed this error) are also conteyned.

The L. Burlyes gaine by the Queenes not marrying.

Truth it is (sayd one of the cōpany) that they two men and especially my L. Burley, hath had as long and large and vniforme a reigne vnder this Queene as euer lightly councellor or courtyer or fauorite had vnder any prince, and

perhapps

perhapps the like is ſcarſe to be read of, eſpecially ſo vniforme (as I haue ſaid) that is, ſo conſtant and like it ſelfe, and ſtil vvith increaſe without ebbes and flowes, ryſings and fallyngs as other wiſe is accuſtomed to happen: and certayne it is that the chiefeſt grownde of al this, hath bin the Queenes being a ſole woman, who therby hath bin enforced to giue her ſelfe wholy into his handes, and any huſband that ſhe might haue had muſt needes haue abridged much of this abſolute ſway, by taking into his owne handes or to his frendes, ſome part of the gouerment, which this man now hath poſſeſſed wholy, having bin to the Queene both huſband, and maſter, counceller, and gouernour thes many yeares. Bnt yet ſeing that the continuation and confirmation of thes things, and namely the conſeruation of titles, honors, and riches by thes meanes gotten to his poſterity, dependeth vvholy of the ſucceſſion of the crowne (ſeing her Maieſty cannot liue euer) it cānot be thought wiſdome in my L. Burley that for the reſpect of his preſent particuler ſway, he ſhould ſuffer the publique (and ther vvith alſo his owne for the tyme to come) to fal into ſuch deſperat termes of open peril as now we ſee them in, by occaſion of her Maieſties not marrying.

To this one of the conference ſayde that he could not imagin that this matter of ſucceſſion remayned ſo doubtful and dangerous in the

A bont the ſucceſſion.

iudgment

iudgment of my L. Treſorer, as it ſeemed to vs & other men abroade, but that he had ſome ſecret and ſure deſignement and plot contriued in his owne head, to put in execution ſo ſone as God ſhal take her Maieſty frō vs, as the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk had in tyme of King Edward the ſixte, though other men knew not therof, and eſpecially when they ſaw the King, not like to liue long, and ſo when all men looked for a Mary Queene, they came forth with a Queene Iane, and ſo may this man ſayeth he with ſome Arbella Queene or the like, when leaſt it is expected.

No doubt (ſayed a nother) if his deſignmēt may take place, the lott ſhal fal vppon ſome woman or childe, whom he may gouerne as he hath done hitherto, for vnder any male Prince of age, he wil neuer willingly liue, ſeing hither to he hath bin maſter of wardes, both to the realme, Queene, and councel for ſo many yeares together, and for that ther be ſo many pretenders now to the crowne as men do ſaye (for the fame goeth there wanteth not three or fowre at the leaſt) his Lord ſhip ſhal not want ſtore to make his choiſe of.

And that is our miſery ſaid a Gētleman lawyer newly come forth of Ingland, that ther be ſo many pretenders to this garland, which only one can weare: and wheras you ſay that ther be three or fower, I can auoutch vnto you that ther be more then three tymes three which by

intereſt

interest of succession may pretend therunto & stand in hope to get the same.

You meane (said an other) by order of succession in longe tyme to come; nay sayeth he, I meane immediatly next after the Queene that now is, and in the first degree. For albeit ther be among them (as of necessity ther must) diuers and different degrees of discent; yet euery one of them hath particuler reasons to perswade himselfe and others, that he ought to be next in possession, and iustly may stand not only in hope, but also in defence therof by the sword if he be able, or otherwise by negotiatió of his frendes, and the more part of them are in such case, as they must neades take armes for tryal of their title, though they vvould forgo it, for that no security of peace can be made by them with their fellow competitors, but vvith armes in their handes, and then imagin you (quoth he) when so many of the blood royall shall arme themselues, what shal become of England and Inglish men.

The multitude of compititors to the crovvne.

To this speach of the Gentleman, al that were present stoode very attentiue, marueling much to heare him name so great a number of competitors to the crowne, affirming that they had neuer hard that ther weare so many, or so resolute euery man to make good and set forwarde his particuler title. Some said that in England they had hard in tymes past, that the Queene of Scots had a title, which men vnder-

stood

ſtood commonly; was cut of by her late attainder: ſome talke alſo there had bin of the Earle of hertfords children, and now lately of one Arbella whom men ſaye that the Earle of Liceſter vvent about to haue marryed her to his ſonne, and ſo to haue made her Queene, ſome ſpeech ther hath bin alſo of an old title of the Earle of Huntington, which commonly men thought was litle to the purpoſe: but of ſo great a numher as this man ſpeaketh of, and that euery parte ſhould hould ſo pregnant hope of preuayling, they ſaide they neuer imagined: and deſired the Gentleman very earneſtly to imparte with them more in particuler what he knew in that affaire, and ſo did eſpecially a certayne Ciuilian Lawyer newly come from Italy Spayne and France, wher he had both trauayled and ſtudyed as alſo he had donne in ſome partes of Germany, and ſemed much giuen to matter of ſtate, and therfore made inſtance to the Gentleman to ſay ſome what of this argument, and ſubiect, offering alſo to adioyne his verdicte vvhere any thing ſhould offer it ſelfe within the compaſſe of his profeſſion reading or experience.

To vvhich the Gentelman anſwered, this is a matter (quoth) he that I haue ſtudied diuers yeares and conferred in Ingland with men of diuers factions and affections in this behalfe, who though the ſtatute forbid treating of thes poynts, yet in ſecret do they diſcourſe very lar-

gely

gely therof with men whom they dare truſt, and notable packing and negotiation ther is vnder hand about this buſines in ſecret, euery parte for his prince pretended, and nyne or ten plotts I haue hard of, for ſo many perſons that do or may pretend it, all which for that you requeſt me ſayeth he, and do promiſe to ſay your oppinions alſo as occaſion ſhalbe offered, and we are now fallen into that matter, & the the tyme ſerueth conuenient enough, I ſhall here very willingly impart vvith you by vvay of diſcourſe, not fearing the ſtatute of treaſon for determinyng any mans right in ſucceſſion to the crowne, both for that this place is out of Ingland, as alſo for that I meane to determyne nothing at all, but rather to follow the Academical Philoſophers in this affayre whoſe profeſſion was to argue and diſpute on euery ſide, and to conclude nothing: nay my very purpoſe ſhalbe (ſaid he) to ſhew you that I do not know what to conclude, and that the matter is ſo doubtful ambiguous, and diſputable, on euery ſide, as God only and the ſword muſt make the concluſion, and this in my opinion, is the cheifeſt and moſt certayne and very vvorſt poynt of al other in this great buſines.

If this be ſo, (ſaid one of the company) why is ther not order taken by parliament for ſo great an inconuenience, and how commeth it to paſſe that we heare out of Ingland that ſome were committed to priſon this laſt parliament for offering

Why it is for bidden in Ingland to treate of the succession.

for offering to treate in this affayre? No marualle said the Gétleman, for that to treat of this matter now, when ther is none to succed that may be presumed by the neernes of bloode to desire more the Queenes safty then ther owne commodity, (as it would be if she had children of her owne) weare to put her Maiestyes state & person in no smale danger, which she prudently foreseing hath for bidden to haue the question debated in her dayes. Wherin no doubt (sayeth he) she hath great reason in al lawe of pollicy: for that she hauing no kynred so neer in bloode as obligatió of nature may assure her Maiesty of ther fidelity, it were a perilous poynt to make determination of her succession now, for it were to put vp aulter agaynst aulter, and a rising sonne agaynst a falling sonne: It were to fill mens heades with new discourses hopes and designmets, to moue passions feares enuies hatreds Ielozies & ambicions, it were to breed new practises negotiations and canuasses, and to fill the realme with vnquiet humors. And for her Maiesty, it were to gyue her matter of perpetual care, sollicitude and danger for it were in deade to treat of her burial whiles she is yet in health, and to deuide her patrimony whiles she is yet in possessió, vvhervnto I marualle not yf she be vnwilling to yeeld.

To this may be added also for iustifying of her Maiesties proceeding in this poynt, so highly misslyked by dyuers sortes of men, tha

it is no

It is not probable that this prouiſiō if it ſhould be made by parliament, for the next ſucceſſor, and at this tyme, and as things now ſtande, would be greatly auaylable eyther to the realme, or to the party in whoſe fauour it ſhould be made, not to the realme, for that vvee ſee by many experiences of actes of parliaments made for ſucceſſion both in King Henry the eight his tyme, and much more before, in tyme of controuerſy betwene the two houſes of Lancaſter and York, as alſo before that agayne in King Richard the firſt his dayes, for the ſucceſſion of Artur the Duke of Britany, and other the like, actes, that they were neuer obſerued or reſpected afterwards, when a ſtronger pretendor came to plead his cauſe, ſo as thoſe actes ſerued for nothing els but to exaſperate more the competitor agaynſt vvhom they vvere made.

To the partye alſo for whom they ſhould be made, they do ſealdom any good at al, but rather do put him in far greater dainger then before; and namely they would do ſo now in Ingland, things ſtanding ther as they do, to witt, the Prince in poſſeſſion being ſo far of in kyndred as ſhe muſt needes liue in Ieloſy of that party, and the other competitors being ſo many, ſtrong and apparent in ther pretences, as they may be egged heerby to work the diſtruction both of the one & the other: for al which reſpects and many other that may be alleaged,

I thinke this order taken in Ingland, not only needful, but reasonable also and commodious, said this Gentleman.

No doubt said the Ciuilian, but it is commodious yf you respect the present only, for that it doth eschu both garboyles to the realme and cares and periles to both partyes as you haue said, I meane both to the Queene and her heyre apparent that should be declared, who must needes be a mortal enimye vnto her Maiesty the very first hower that he is declared, for that his next desire after such declaration once obteyned must needs be, that her Maiesty were quickly dead, and he or she in her place; and for that her Maiesty must needs know and feare this, & the other must needs imagine, that she knowing and fearing it, would seeke to preuent the same, betwene thes feares I say and hopes, thes hatreds and suspitions, thes ambitions and Ielosyes, no peace frenship or long endurance could be expected. And for that the hopes and hartes of men, are set commonly much more vppon the Prince that is to come on rising, then vppō him that is in fading, the greater dainger were like to fall vppon the present possessor, wherof I could gyue (you said he) if neede weere, diuers examples out of storye of our profession, I meane pertayning to the study of our emperial lawes, by which is made most euident, that more *Cæsars* (vvho vver heyres apparent to the empire as you know haue pu

Note this poynt.

haue put downe Emperors, then Emperors haue byn able to reſtrayne *Cæſars* albeit them ſelues wete able to make them, ſo as to the Prince in preſent poſſeſſion it is (no doubt) very ſecure and commodious to haue this prohibition, and that the right of ſucceſſion do hange obſcure and doubtfull, and no leſſe profitable is it alſo in my opinion to al the competitors, for that by this meanes they haue tyme euery man to prepare his frendes & worke his cauſe vnderhand, wheras if any ſhould be declared the reſt ſhould be iniured & therby alſo exaſperated & him ſelfe putt in place of enuy and dainger without power of defence, as hath byn ſaid, but after her Maieſtyes death, if he put vp him ſelfe, it is like he wil haue a party to ſtick by him to enable his demaund.

And this is for the preſent during her Maieties life: but as for the future tyme it muſt neeles be a terrible threatening of extreme calamitye to the common wealth to haue ſo many lye in wait to aſſayle her, as you haue ſignified do pretend the crowne, which truly I confeſſe (ſayeth he) with the reſidew here (though ſomevvhat perhaps I haue ſtudyed and read more then euery one of this company) that I neuer eſtemed to be ſo many in number, and much leſſe of ſuch conſideration for their titles, as you ſeeme to hold them, and therfore I pray you defer no longer to begynne the diſcourſe which you haue promiſed and we al deſyre.

The Gentleman answered that he was content, and so began presently, and for more perspecuitye sake he reduced al the present pretenders to the crowne after the Queene that now is, to three principal heades or branches, to wit to the house of lancaster a part, to the house of Yorck a part, and to the last coniunction of both houses in Kyng Henry the seuenth, assigning three competitors of the first branch, and three of the second, and fower of the last, of all whose titles he discoursed largely at diueres meetings for three or fower dayes one after an other, and the Ciuilian also said his parte, & some others put in their verdicts as occasion vvas offred, but the two former spake most and shewed great reading, and had not the Gentleman shewed himselfe somewhat to partial sometymes agaynst the Catholique in matters of religion as one that had byn brought vp only in Ingland he had fitted greatly my humor, but yours he vvould haue fitted the more for this but in truth his speach in this matter of the succession was very pithy, and founded in great reason and authority without partiality to any party, and I assure my selfe that you would haue liked it extremly well if you had hard it, and presuppose that some of the company hath taken it in paper though I know not vvell yet, nor haue I now any tyme to enquire the truth, for that the post is vppon his departure and I will not keepe this letter by me any longer a-

A diuisiō of the pretēders to the crovvne.

ger and now it groweth to ſome bigger bulck alſo then at the beginyng I had intended it, wherfore I ſhall here make an ende, and if I can gett the other diſcourſe hereafter concerning the ſucceſſion you may perhapps haue a ſight therof alſo, for I know it wil yeld you very great contentment. God keepe you, at *Amſterdam* in Holland this firſt of September 1593.

A diſcourſe of the ſucceſſion promiſed.

FIN.